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THE ARANDA MEMORIAL: GENUINE OR FORGED?

In 1912, Professor William Spence Robertson of the University of Illinois found among the papers, "Pacification of America", in the Archives of the Indies a copy of a famous document, the secret Memorial which is said to have been given to Charles III of Spain by the Count of Aranda shortly after the latter completed the negotiations of peace between Spain and England. A letter was attached to this manuscript copy, which is of such significance as to warrant its full quotation:

Excmo. Señor Duque del Infantado:

Muy señor mío y de mi más alto aprecio y estimación: embriagado de dolor y de penas sólo puede disiparme el interés de mi Soberano y de mi Patria, porque el hombre de bien no puede dexar de serlo por más ofensas que reciba; y por mi parte antes pereceré que dexar de serlo: Poco me falta para acabar víctima de mi lealtad.

Entre las curiosidades que conservo se halla el papel cuya copia acompaño; y creyendo que en las actuales circunstancias pudiera ser útil a V. E. su conocimiento si es que no lo hubiese visto, me he resuelto a transcribirlo á V. E. seguro del buen uso que hará de él si no hubiere llegado á sus manos, y que aun en el caso contrario sabría apreciar mi celo y disimular mi légereza.

Las causas de mi desconsuelo no son para transcribirse á este papel, y acaso no sería inútil que V. E. las supiera: si mi conducta y padecimientos me hiciesen acreedor, y V. E. pudiese destinar á oírme algunos minutos consolaría a uno de los realistas más legítimos lleno de pundonor y de celo por el bien del Rey y mejor servicio.

Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. Madrid 9 de Diciembre de 1825. Excmo. Señor B. L. M. de V. E. Rafael Morant. (Hay una rúbrica).

Al dorso dice: "Papel del Señor Conde de Aranda sobre la America, 1783".¹

This explanation is important for several reasons. It would seem to indicate that possibly Rafael Morant possessed the original manuscript of the Memorial. As a member of the ministry of the treasury, he transmitted a copy of the Memorial to the president of the ministry with the thought that he might, in the existing circumstances, have use for it.² The copy of the Memorial, the printed form of which was used in the preparation of this paper, had its source in Madrid and surely antedates the French version. In his French translation of William Coxe's *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon* which appeared in 1827, Andrés Muriel included a translation of the Memorial.³ It is possible that his work was based on the Morant copy. With two or three exceptions, the French translation has been the version on which historians have made their comments. But the result of Professor Robertson's researches is to introduce new characters and a new setting in connection with the Memorial.

To the present writer, it seems that the historian still lacks sufficient evidence on which to brand the Aranda Memorial as a forgery. Those who have taken this position rely for the most part upon a printed form of a French translation of a

¹ Shortly after Professor Robertson's researches, but independently of him, the Memorial was printed in *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, Año I (1913), Número 2, 53 ff. The writer is much indebted to Professor Robertson for information on the Memorial and for the encouragement which prompted him to make a study of this subject several years ago. The views herein expressed in no way commit those to whom he is under obligation.

² *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano, de Literatura, Ciencias, y Artes* (23 vols., Barcelona, 1896), XXVIII, 273; X, 874.

³ William Coxe, *L'Espagne sous les Rois de la Maison de Bourbon* (translated into the French with notes and additions by Andrés Muriel, 6 vols., Paris, 1827), VI, 45-54. References to the existing copies of the Memorial may be found in Julián Paz, *Catálogo de Manuscritos de América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1933), pp. 122, 163.

Spanish copy. This fact precludes the use of many tests of authorship. No argument may be adduced either way from a study of handwriting. The quality and condition of the paper upon which it was written and of the ink with which it was penned can be of no value. We do not even know whether the original document had a signature. Those who denounce the document attack the circumstances of the birth of the Memorial, but they place most reliance upon showing discrepancies in the subject matter. Even if successful in the latter attempt, their basis for argument must be overwhelmingly conclusive in order to overcome the possibilities that Aranda misrepresented his own views, held at an earlier date, or altered his opinion owing to changed conditions.

II

As Professor Arthur P. Whitaker suggests in his article, "The Pseudo-Aranda Memoir of 1783",⁴ probably the most effective attack on the authenticity of the Memorial was made by Antonio Ferrer del Río. To the latter it seemed improbable that a proposal of such importance, if genuine, should escape the files of the prime minister, Floridablanca. Apparently, neither the official correspondence nor the confidential communications of this man, Aranda's political chief, contain any reference to it. But Ferrer del Río himself seems to lack faith in this reasoning, for he admitted that Aranda had permission to return to Madrid and may have submitted the paper in person to the king.⁵ There is proof that Aranda left Paris in December, 1783, and returned late in May of the following year.⁶ It should be added that not all of the cor-

⁴ Arthur P. Whitaker, "The Pseudo-Aranda Memoir of 1783" in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVII, 287.

⁵ Antonio Ferrer del Río, *Historia del Reinado de Carlos III* (4 vols., Madrid, 1856), III, 404 ff.

⁶ Aranda to Floridablanca, Paris, December 8, 1783, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Libro 179, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Cunningham transcripts, Part VII, 1333. A list of Aranda's correspondence which was made available by Doctor Roscoe R. Hill, shows conclusively that Aranda departed on the 10th of December. For the use of this bibliographical aid as well as for general suggestions and criticisms I am very grateful to Doctor Hill.

responddence of the ambassador passed through the hands of the foreign minister at Madrid. On one occasion, when Aranda advocated immediate naval operations against England, his plan was submitted to Charles III through the French minister, Montmorin, with the authorship unrevealed.⁷ In 1776, Grimaldi instructed Aranda to present without a signature his plan for arousing a rebellion in Ireland in order that it might have the appearance of a state paper as distinguished from a diplomatic dispatch.⁸

Those who seek to discredit Aranda's authorship claim that no reason existed at that time for fearing that the agitated North American colonies would infect the Spanish American dependencies. The former were settled by religious dissenters who acquired liberties and rights of self government which, when threatened, would impel them to rebellion. The latter were colonized by Catholic missionaries and soldiers whose subservience to Church and Crown protected them from thoughts of rebellion and independence.⁹ This argument disregards the facts that Tupac Amaru II had led one of the most formidable native uprisings in colonial history, that the *comuneros* of New Granada forced the royal authorities temporarily to surrender to their demands and sent emissaries to England, and that Charles III had inaugurated the most revolutionary reform in colonial administration since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, all in the course of the three years, 1780 to 1783.¹⁰

The authenticity of the Memorial is attacked on the ground that the negotiator of peace with England had no reason to be disappointed over the result. Ferrer del Río goes so far as to characterize the Spanish conduct and conclusion of the contest as "triumphs which fulfilled all the objects which his

⁷ François Rousseau, *Règne de Charles III d'Espagne* (2 vols., Paris, 1907), II, 142.

⁸ Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États Unis d'Amérique* (5 vols., Paris, 1884-1899), I, 336.

⁹ Ferrer del Río, *op. cit.*, III, 409.

¹⁰ See the pertinent chapters in Bernard Moses, *Spain's declining Power in South America, 1780-1806* (Berkeley, 1919).

perspicacity suggested".¹¹ Upon a subject, which is treated at greater length below, it is sufficient here to indicate that any peace terms which did not include the cession of Gibraltar to Spain and perhaps the Bahamas too, hardly included all the objects which "his perspicacity suggested".¹² Almost at every turn throughout the course of the war both Spain and France had disregarded Aranda's advice. He had every reason to be keenly disappointed, for his Spanish pride had been repeatedly injured.

Considerable attention has been given to the possibility that the Memorial may have been used by certain exiled Spaniards for the purpose of restoring them to favor with Ferdinand VII. Such is an explanation given to the circumstances surrounding Muriel's publication of it in 1827, "circumstances surrounding the birth of the secret memoir" which are said to "create a presumption against its legitimacy".¹³ One would conclude from this characterization that its author was prepared to prove that the document was forged near the time of this publication and for that purpose. On the contrary, he subscribes to the theory that it was forged over thirty years earlier.¹⁴ If one takes the view that Godoy forged the Memorial in 1794, how does the misuse of it in 1826 and 1827 affect the question of its genuineness?

The theory that Godoy was responsible for the Memorial is based on the facts that he and Aranda were political enemies and that the latter's final retirement was due to the former. Professor Whitaker concludes that as a result of the council meeting of March 14, 1794, Godoy's political life hung in the balance and that he was under the necessity of finding some means to discredit Aranda. The means which he took, according to the same theory, was the forging of the Memorial

¹¹ Ferrer del Río, *op. cit.*, III, 406.

¹² Professor Whitaker seems inclined to agree with Ferrer del Río as to the success of the negotiations from the Spanish viewpoint, but to the present writer, Whitaker's earlier views that the terms were unwelcome to Spain seem to be the more sound; see his *The Spanish American Frontier: 1783-1795* (Boston and New York, 1927), p. 10.

¹³ Whitaker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 290-291.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-301.

and presenting it secretly to Charles IV.¹⁵ This hypothesis seems unnecessary. Aranda had retired in 1792 old in years and honored, apparently, by the gratitude of his sovereigns. His place in the ministry of foreign affairs was taken by Godoy. Aranda returned to the service of the state in the capacity of *doyen*. In bringing about his final retirement, it was hardly necessary for Godoy to manufacture a charge of treason committed ten years earlier, if the Memorial could in any way be interpreted as treachery. Aranda vigorously opposed the war with France. He protested that "no nation has a right to intervene in the domestic government of other peoples". He had high praise for the French revolutionary armies and remarked that "the spirit of liberty has made unbelievable progress among them". He seemed to attribute the bad condition of the Spanish armies to the entire absence of the spirit of liberty and equality.¹⁶ Always pro-French, steeped in the philosophy of Voltaire, Rousseau, and d'Alembert, Aranda had the temerity to praise the liberty and equality which only a few months earlier had caused the death of the king's Bourbon cousin, Louis XVI of France. Would Godoy have had to go further than these words and this conduct to find a charge of treason?¹⁷

III

In presenting the following comparison of ideas expressed in the Memorial and those given in Aranda's recognized correspondence, the present writer has no intention of proving the authenticity of the document. His object is to show the similarity of ideas expressed in these writings. He holds only that a possibility still exists that the Memorial is genuine.

¹⁵ Professor Whitaker bases much of his theory of Godoy's authorship of the Memorial upon the *Acta* of the Council meeting of March 14, 1794, as found in Andrés Muriel, *Historia de Carlos IV in Memorial Histórico Español* (Madrid, 1894), XXX, 235-236n. A careful reading of this document shows that his interpretation is open to serious question.

¹⁶ Muriel, *op. cit.*, VI, 60-65.

¹⁷ In his *The Spanish American Frontier*, p. 174, Professor Whitaker takes the view that for his warning of the dire consequences of the English alliance Aranda was rewarded by "dismissal, disgrace, and imprisonment".

For a clear understanding of that document, we may proceed to an explanation of its contents. These may be summarized as follows: a customary expression of respect for the crown and a significant reference to the negotiation of peace with England constitute the introduction. As to France, the author affirms that blind to its true interests it involved itself and its ally, Spain, in an unfortunate war in the interest of England's American colonies. He felt that perhaps colonies so far distant could not be permanent. In the Spanish dependencies, geographic difficulties prevented an adequate control over governors and viceroys whose greed and vengeance impose hardships upon the natives. The author sees a new danger arising from the new, formidable "federated republic" to the north, today "a pigmy", tomorrow "an irresistible colossus", developed by the wide expanse of land for settlement, by freedom of religion, and by the liberal policies of the government. This new state will direct its efforts "to the entire possession of the Floridas in order to dominate the Mexican gulf". It will not only interrupt Spanish commerce with Mexico "but will aspire to the conquest of that vast empire which we will not be able to defend". The author finally turns to a solution. He suggests that Spain dispossess itself of all its colonies except Cuba, Puerto Rico, and several trading stations farther south, and that new kingdoms, to be ruled by Bourbon princes, be established in Mexico, Peru, and Tierra Firme. The new states would be obligated to compensate the mother country in terms of silver, gold, and produce. They would be obligated to agree to marriage alliances and commercial treaties with the mother country and with each other. Such a project would benefit Spain's commerce, its merchant marine, and would enable it to resist the powers of Europe and restrict the powers of America. These advantages would be shared with France, but England would be excluded and kept in ignorance of the plan.¹⁸

The Memorial can be judged only in the light of Aranda's whole political theory and with the thought that he was a man

¹⁸ Boletín . . . *Americanistas*, Año I, Número 2, 53 ff.

of audacity and fearlessness in expression of ideas. He feared England, was attached to France, considered England's colonies as potentially dangerous, and desired to protect Spain's empire. All of these ideas appear time and again in his correspondence. All of them appear in the Memorial. As early as 1770, he proposed to strike at England's commerce by closing Spanish markets to it and by seizing English merchant ships in the ports of Spain.¹⁹ For sheer audacity this plan surpasses the Memorial, for it certainly would have provoked immediate war. Six years later, he urged upon Grimaldi a plan for an expedition to Ireland in order to aid the rebellion and to establish a new and independent state. With his customary impetuosity, he commented "What would England be if after having lost its colonies it lost Ireland also. . . . This would be a blow at the heart of England. . . ." ²⁰ In a similar spirit the author of the Memorial offered to promote the scheme therein suggested "with all the secrecy and precautions necessary in order that England may not know of it . . ." and he added: "What a terrible blow to English pride". In 1777, in a long dispatch to Grimaldi, Aranda commented at length on the reduced power of England's war marine owing to the fact that American sailors no longer served in its ships. From this, he concluded that England's trade and commerce would suffer.²¹ In the following year, he felt that Franco-Spanish naval strength was superior to the enemy. From these optimistic statements, one can readily understand why Aranda constantly urged the war policy upon his government. One of the prime reasons behind his reasoning was expressed in the dispatch, above mentioned, of January 13, 1777:

. . . Spain has a great breadth of interests to guard in America and cannot protect them now nor in the future; it ought not to be doubted but that England is to seek them out at all times and in all regions; and with many places from which to choose, she will be directed to those most unprotected; so then, what is the most effective way to

¹⁹ Rousseau, *op. cit.*, II, 71.

²⁰ Doniol, *op. cit.*, I, 354, 357.

²¹ Juan F. Yela Utrilla, *España ante la Independencia de los Estados Unidos* (2 vols., Lérida, 1925), II, 44.

avoid these risks but that of reducing England so that she may never rise again.²²

But Aranda failed to convince his government that the time had arrived for striking at the enemy.

The geographic difficulties of controlling the Spanish colonies are elaborated in the Memorial. The author stated that: Spanish domination in the Americas cannot be very permanent, based on the fact that possessions so far distant from the mother country never have been maintained for a long time.

Among other problems he mentions "the difficulty of lending aid from Europe", "the distance of the Sovereign and of the Supreme Tribunal to which they repair", "the difficulty of ascertaining the truth at such long distance". In the quotation above given of a dispatch written by Aranda in 1777, Aranda noted that the geographic difficulties were such that Spain could not hope "to protect them now nor in the future". In 1786, he feared that Spain could not administer the colonies "so distant from our resources".²³ Several years later he reiterated the idea that Spanish possessions far distant from the metropolis could not be defended.²⁴

The solution of the problem as it appeared to the author of the Memorial, as has been noted above, was that Spain dispossess itself of the colonies excepting Cuba, Puerto Rico, and several commercially important points farther south on the conditions that compensation be offered to the mother country and that marriage and commercial treaties be negotiated between the new states and Spain.

The importance of the islands and the inferior value of the mainland are indicated by Aranda in a dispatch of July 24, 1775. The view is expressed that Spain must hold fast to the islands of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico

because of being most easy to maintain in obedience, they are at the gateway of the continent by their position, and because though lost

²² *Ibid.*, II, 38.

²³ Ferrer del Río, *op. cit.*, III, 407n.

²⁴ Muriel, *op. cit.*, VI, 65.

these three ports in good condition would suffice to give to Spain a sufficient trade in those goods which are natural to it.

Further,

The outer wall of all the mainland is the islands, the part most open and least distant for trade, . . . most easy to protect. . . The risks of the continent are not imaginary.²⁵

In 1786, Aranda wrote to Floridablanca proposals which have no factors irreconcilable with the Memorial:

My fear is that we are not able to maintain the whole of our America, either by extension or by the disposal of some parts of it as Peru and Chile . . . Portugal is more suitable for us and it alone would be more useful than all the continent of America, excepting the islands.

He included among these ideas which he characterized as dreams the thought of exchanging Peru for Portugal with Chile thrown in for good measure and of establishing an *infante* in Buenos Aires. At any rate Mexico, the islands, and the northern coast of South America constituted sufficient territory for Spain.²⁶

We may turn to another idea which the author of the Memorial voiced. To him the new state, born a pigmy, was destined to become a formidable giant and an irresistible colossus expanding southward to the Gulf and toward Mexico. This prophecy seems to belong peculiarly to Aranda, not that others failed to foresee it, but that he constantly emphasized it.

In the dispatch, cited above, of 1775, Aranda predicted that the time would come when the colonies united would strive for the mastery of all of America and throw off the European yoke "more insufferable to the Spanish Americans than to the English".²⁷ He wrote to Grimaldi on October 10, 1776:

²⁵ Dispatch 505, Paris, July 24, 1775, A. G. S. Libro 181, *loc. cit.*, Part II, 27-30.

²⁶ Ferrer del Río, *op. cit.*, III, 407-409.

²⁷ See note 25 above.

. . . these alone with time will become our rivals by their position and growth in population.²⁸

In the long dispatch of January 13, 1777, he described the colonies as

another power . . . stable and territorial, which has already invoked the patrician name of America with two and a half million inhabitants, descendants of Europe, which . . . will double their numbers every 25 or 30 years and in 50 or 60 may reach eight or ten millions. . . . The character of that country so crossed with rivers and lakes will be esteemed by a people who will grow unexcelled, through the liberty and good treatment of its laws as through agriculture, industry, and commerce in which its happiness will be founded.²⁹

As the author of the Memorial asserted that the new state would expand toward the Floridas and Mexico, so Aranda predicted in 1775 that "if they separate from the English, as the first object of their expansion they will take Louisiana. . . ." ³⁰ In 1777, he voiced the fear that the colonies "would be able to penetrate our possessions through the back of Louisiana" and would establish themselves on the Gulf of Mexico.³¹ Later, he returned to the subject with this warning to Floridablanca:

Take care, Your Excellency, lest the Mexican Gulf, and the celebrated port of Pensacola, bordering Louisiana, and the channel of the Bahamas with its mainland be in the power of others, and also the beautiful temperate province of Florida, the first by preference which will be peopled by others.³²

Aranda was in a position to know of American ambitions. In the spring of 1777, Franklin offered assistance to Spain in reducing the town and harbor of Pensacola and in conquering the English sugar islands, provided inhabitants of the United States be allowed the right of free navigation of the Missis-

²⁸ Yela Utrilla, *op. cit.*, II, 23.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 42-43, 47.

³⁰ See note 25 above.

³¹ Yela Utrilla, *op. cit.*, II, 46-47.

³² Aranda to Floridablanca, Paris, December 28, 1777, A. G. S. Libro 179, *loc. cit.*, Part I, 259-260.

ssippi.³³ The resolutions of the Continental Congress were not conducive to the peace of mind of the Spaniards, for in February, 1779, that body specified the Mississippi as a boundary and the right to its navigation as just demands of the colonies.³⁴ In that same year, John Jay's instructions permitted him to guarantee Florida to Spain in return for the right of navigating the Mississippi.³⁵

That subject in the Memorial which seems most inconsistent with Aranda's policy and actions was stated as follows:

The American colonies have remained independent: this is my sorrow and fear. France as it has little to lose in America has not been detained in its projects by the consideration that Spain, its intimate and powerful ally in the new world, alone remains exposed to terrible blows. From the beginning it has blundered in its calculations favoring and aiding this independence as I declared several times to its ministers. What more could France desire than to see the English and the colonies destroy each other in a war of separation which should always yield advantage to its power and interest? The antipathy of France for England blinded the French cabinet from recognizing that what was proper was to watch quietly this destructive battle of the two parties, but to our disgrace it was not thus, but rather with the basis of the Family Compact, it involved us in a war also in which we have struggled against our own proper cause as I am about to explain.

In this statement the contestants of the authenticity of the document find their strongest argument. Great care should be exercised, however, to interpret it in the light of Aranda's diplomatic disappointments. He urged that the new state be bound through a treaty, the terms of which would be dictated by Spain and France. This thought had so taken possession of his mind as to lead him to the belief that the opposition came from Versailles rather than from his own government.³⁶ That he had no enthusiasm for the independence of the American colonies is indicated by his advice "to begin immediately

³³ Francis Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), II, 304.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 58, 312.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 353.

³⁶ Doniol, *op. cit.*, II, 172.

an open support for the attainment of independence when their fortune wavers . . . will be the means of contracting what is desired with the colonies''.³⁷ In the same dispatch to Grimaldi he elaborated on his theory:

By the break with England through a formal treaty with the colonies . . . the reacquisition of Florida, which England acquired in the last peace, would be accomplished . . . which the colonies would not now dispute but may do so later by conquest . . . because it is most important that that new dominion should not carry on shipping by that route formed precisely by the channel of the Bahamas, reaching to the Mississippi River and the ports of New Orleans with the famous port of Pensacola in the interior of the Gulf of Mexico.

Aranda hoped to limit the United States not only on the south but also to restrict it on the west. ". . . Spain ought to fix its limits in order to avoid any question in the future".³⁸ This sentiment was not a momentary reflection, for in his diary, August, 1782, he recorded a summary of his conversations with Jay and Vergennes. Objecting to Reyneval's proposal of a western boundary, Aranda preferred a line which would limit the United States thus:

to cut the Cherokees (Tennessee) at the confluence of the Pelisipi mounting the latter to its origin in order to strike the Cumberland River and following it to the Ohio, descending this to its mouth in the Mississippi. . . .³⁹

Not only would Aranda restrict the growth of the United States on the west, he desired to balance its power by establishing a French republic in Canada. As early as October 10, 1776, he wrote to Grimaldi:

if to the north of a new Anglo-American state which the insurgents will form, there may be another Gallo-American which may restrain it, then there will always be recourse for Spain and no immediate bad consequences. . . .⁴⁰

³⁷ Yela Utrilla, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 43, 46, 47.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 364; see "Mitchell's Map of North America, 1755", in *United States Geological Survey, Bulletin No. 689* (Washington, D. C., 1923).

⁴⁰ Dispatch 853, Paris, October 10, 1776, A. G. S. Libro 181, *loc. cit.*, Part I, 172.

The idea appealed to him, for in the next year he wrote:

If France wished to recover the possession of Canada it could achieve it without objection from the colonies through the mere fact of its alliance and break with England, and it would suit Spain since the United Colonies of America would remain restricted on two sides.

By this means "the mutual guarantee of the two Powers with the new would be more natural and solid".⁴¹

Aranda's plans and hopes received a severe set-back by the terms of the alliance between France and the colonies. In a dispatch of March 7, 1778, he addressed Floridablanca as follows:

Your Excellency should observe in the treaty of alliance with the colonies, Article VI, in which France cedes its right to Canada and other possessions which by the treaty of 1763 passed into the hands of the English, and the 7th, in which the right to attack any island situated in the Gulf of Mexico or near it of those which Great Britain possesses, is allowed. . . .⁴²

This first article, above cited, crushed completely Aranda's project for a Canadian republic to offset the United States. The second article permitted the Americans to operate in the Caribbean and effectively destroyed his idea of keeping that body of water a Spanish *mare clausum*. The damage did not stop there. Aranda predicted that the colonies would retract their promise regarding Pensacola, dispute the possession of Florida and make difficulties in the regulation of commerce.⁴³

In the light of these quotations, may we not believe that to Aranda the independence of the colonies was in the words of the Memorial a matter of "sorrow and fear". Is it unreasonable to think that perhaps he felt that France, ". . . has not been detained in its projects by the consideration that Spain . . . remains exposed to terrible blows" and that France "blundered in its calculations favoring and aiding this independence"?

⁴¹ Yela Utrilla, *op. cit.*, II, 47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 241.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 242.

Turning from Aranda's views on the manner in which France entered the war, we may ask how he looked upon Spanish entry and participation in that struggle. In a message to Floridablanca of May 2, 1779, Aranda gave vent to his disgust:

Now we have thrown aside the mask, for Spain itself has been as a protectress in advancing the risky thing of independence of England, and in order to promote its mediation through precaution or through means, it has armed and made expenditures, with gallantry aiding the liberty of the colonies and allowing them to form their new empire as if a thousand leagues of sea separated their possessions and the Spanish . . . and with the generosity of pardoning England the infinite injuries which it has ever used toward Spain and without seeking any of that which it usurped. . . .⁴⁴

As for the conduct of the war Aranda was just as critical. On April 14, 1781, he wrote to Floridablanca characterizing the struggle as "a war which on our side has been made if not in pantomime, not in reality".⁴⁵ Years later, after the French revolutionists had executed Louis XVI, Aranda pleaded for neutrality on the basis that "An English expedition would soon make us repent of the ill considered support which we have given to the insurgents of New England".⁴⁶ In view of these opinions expressed in 1779, 1781, and 1793, is it difficult to believe that Aranda felt that the war was a mistake and that the wiser course would have been to let the two deadly enemies of Spain's trans-oceanic interests fight it out?

The foregoing explanation of Aranda's political views is intended to establish a reason for suspending final judgment on the Memorial. To the present writer the evidence, as examined to date, favors Aranda's authorship, but he does not pretend to conclusiveness. Perhaps one should recall an apt characterization of Aranda as a "daring schemer and bad

⁴⁴ Aranda to Floridablanca, Paris, May 2, 1779, A. G. S. Libro 179, *loc. cit.*, Part III, 290 f.

⁴⁵ Aranda to Floridablanca, Paris, April 14, 1781, A. G. S. Libro 179, *loc. cit.*, Part V, 956.

⁴⁶ Coxe, *op. cit.*, VI, 65-66.

calculator rather than a creative or sagacious statesman''.⁴⁷
In his own words his political policy was expressed thus:

The variation of times, the progress of other powers seem to me to make necessary, if convenient, a separation from ancient maxims which may have been good when adopted but do not apply to the future because of the change of circumstances.⁴⁸

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

⁴⁷ Wharton, *op. cit.*, I, 144.

⁴⁸ See note 25 above.

COLONIAL TUCUMAN¹

When the Spanish conquistadores rode down from the Upper Peruvian highlands and toward the region of the great Argentine plains, they came upon Tucumán, a pleasant and indefinite land. Its very name was of dubious meaning. Tucumán may, indeed, have been the "land where the cotton grows", or the Incas may have used the term merely to designate "a land to the south, in the little-known part of the world". But one thing now seems certain. Since the land had been named Tucma long before the birth of its famous Indian chief, Tucumanhao, historians have decided that while that particular Indian may have been named after his land, the land was *not* named after him.²

The boundaries of our Tucumán were even more uncertain than the origin of its name. Not only was there an unfortunate lack of precision in their original delineation, but during the course of history those limiting lines expanded, contracted. The extent and location of Tucumán became a matter of date.³

¹ This paper is one of a series of studies made possible by the grant of the Class of 1905 Fellowship from Mount Holyoke College for the year 1935-1936.

² For discussions of the origin of the name, see Pablo Groussac (*et al.*), *Memoria histórica y descriptiva de la Provincia de Tucumán* (Buenos Aires, 1882), pp. 12, 13; Luis Silva Lezaeta, *El conquistador Francisco de Aguirre* (Santiago de Chile, 1904), pp. 102-103; N. Avellaneda, writing in the *Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires* (IV, 322), suggests another possible derivation for the name of Tucumán—from Tucumán, frontier—with reference to one of the frontiers of the Inca Empire.

For pre-conquest use of the term Tucumán, see Roberto Levillier, *Nueva Crónica de la Conquista del Tucumán* (Buenos Aires, 1926, 1930, 1931), I, 18; and Manuel Lizondo Borda, *Historia de la Gobernación del Tucumán* (Buenos Aires, 1928), pp. 70, 71.

³ For material on the early boundaries and extent of Tucumán, see Audiencia de Charcas, *Correspondencia de Presidentes y Oidores* (Madrid, 1918, 1922, 1922), II, 135; Germán Latorre (ed.), *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* (Sevilla, 1919), pp. 135, 136, 141 in the included "Relación de las provincias del Tucumán y del sitio que tienen", by Diego Pacheco; "Vocabulario geográfico, relativo a la

The earliest reports seem to locate the land in the mountain and valley region east of the Andes and extending from present Jujuy to San Juan. The Incas stretched this Tucumán until it became their vast southern dependency between the eastern and the western boundaries of the Paraná-Plata rivers and of the Andean chain. Early Spaniards at first applied the name of Tucumán only to the eastern plains of the present province of Santiago del Estero; then, being acquisitive by nature, our Spaniards added to this Santiaguan Tucumán the land of the present provinces of Cajamarca, Rioja, Tucumán, Córdoba, Salta, Jujuy, and a part of the Chaco. This great hinterland province was colonial Tucumán. After the creation of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires in 1776, the Chilean province of Cuyo—comprising the modern Argentine provinces of Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis—was added to Tucumán; six years later the resultant new province was split into two divisions, which became the intendencias of Córdoba del Tucumán and Salta del Tucumán. Only with the period of Independence was the term Tucumán applied to the region immediately around the city of that name—the modern Argentine province.

In the course of history, then, the term Tucumán has been applied to the whole central and western part of the present Argentine Republic as well as to that republic's smallest modern province and to its capital city. For the purposes of this paper, the region considered will be that of colonial Tucumán. The period covered will be the sixteenth century time, when Indian and Spanish civilizations clashed and the great hinterland province came into being.

Colonial Tucumán slid off from the high plateau of Upper Peru. In the northwestern part is the barren puna of Jujuy and Salta, a continuation of the plateau land of the desert of Atacama and of southern Bolivia. From this puna, descend broken mountain ranges, paralleling the Andes and dividing

Gobernación del Río de la Plata, extractado de las Cartas de Indias'', in *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, I, 455; Lizondo Borda, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10 and Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

western Tucumán into a series of fairly evenly spaced mountain and valley lines which run north and south, and which mark roads for travel and settlement. As one looks at these broken mountain lines on a map, they can be visualized into stepping stones, decreasing gradually in height as the mountains lumber down into the plain. Or, again, our mountain lines may be seen as a series of parallel folds in the earth's crust, marking lines of tectonic force and backing up the mighty Andes in the crush of a continent against a stiff Pacific basin. East of this succession of mountains and valleys are the plains, with their sub-tropical forests, to the north; the great saline desert in the center, where Santiago, Cajamarca, Rioja, and Córdoba dip down to meet; and the pampa grass lands to the south.

In general, the slope of the land is a slow one from the northwestern highland southeast to the Plata Basin. This is the course marked by the three rivers which survive to reach the sea—the Bermejo in the north, the Salado in the center, and the Tercero or Carcarañal or Amazonas in the south. The Dulce, Cuarto, and Quinto also seem to have headed for the Plata system, but they died in lagoons on their way. For this land is bad for rivers. In the west, melting snows run into salt hollows where they are burnt up by desert heat. The climate of the whole region is comparatively dry. The land slant is so gradual that a river must run with many a turn and twist; heat and winds, together with the distance to cover before reaching the sea, increase the hazards from evaporation. When the rains do come, rivers swell rapidly, tear away soft clay or sandy banks, broaden their beds, decrease their depth with new sediment deposits, make evaporation dangerously easier. Again, the soil is porous, and a river may even disappear in it entirely.⁴

⁴ In describing Tucumán's rivers, Roberto Levillier used the adjective "ambulatory" as he referred to their annoying habit of changing their courses and either flooding some unfortunate town or moving its water supply away. This "ambulatory" quality of Tucumanean rivers, to me, seems characteristic of Tucumanean geography as a whole. Attention has already been called to the fact that the term Tucumán itself was far from static in quality; neither the

The vegetation of this great area falls into four main classes, which are determined not so much by latitude as by altitude or by the rain supply. These four classes are desert, "monte" vegetation, pampa, and sub-tropical forest. On the high northern puna of Jujuy and Salta is the cold desert country; down out of the high altitudes, still close to the western Andean rim, is the hot land, desert, save in valleys watered by little streams from mountain snows; and the broad gash of the great saline desert lies through the center of the country from Rioja to Santiago. The "monte", or scrub vegetation, is found in the rather dry strip which includes central and western Córdoba, central Santiago, central and eastern Tucumán, and north into the province of Salta. This vegetation line runs generally from southeast to northwest. Again, this vegetation is to be found in those valleys of the western provinces of Cajamarca and Rioja whenever there is enough moisture to defeat the desert. The tropical forest luxuriates in the rains caught by the eastern slopes and lowlands of Jujuy and Salta, and in the Chaco. The pampa grass lands extend into south and eastern Córdoba.⁵

land's Indian nor its Spanish settlers showed any tendency to remain properly put; winds, like the zonda and the pampero, swept sand into shifting dunes in the great western deserts or blew the water back from the sea in the Plata estuary; earthquakes moved one whole city out of existence. "Ambling" has been characteristic of Tucumán.

⁵For more detailed accounts of the physical geography of Tucumán, see Herman Burmeister, *Reise durch die La Plata Staaten, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die physische Beschaffenheit und den Culturzustand der Argentinischen Republik*, 2v. (Halle, 1861), and his *Die süd-amerikanischen Republiken, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay und Uruguay* (Gotha, 1875); Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer* (Stuttgart-Gotha, 1925); Groussac, *op. cit.*; Mark Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa* (New York, 1926); Franz Kühn, *Geografía de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1930), and *Grundriss der Kulturgeographie von Argentinien* (Hamburg, 1933); F. Latzina, *Géographie de la République Argentine* (Buenos Aires, 1890); Ricardo Napp, *La República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1876); Oscar Schmieder, "The historic geography of Tucumán", in *University of California Publications in Geography*, June 12, 1928, pp. 359-386, and *Länderkunde Südamerikas* (Leipzig und Wien, 1932).

Into this Tucumán, with its diversity of pampa, scrubby forest, desert land, and luxuriant sub-tropical growths—with its mountains, valleys, plains, and deserts—came meddling and inquisitive Spaniards.

The first of these was appropriately named César. Like his illustrious predecessor of the same name, he came and saw; he conquered at least to the extent of survival. Unfortunately, this Francisco César seems to have been an unlettered gentleman and to have left no commentary on his adventures. This has led to a disconcerting multiplicity of accounts of his famous walk from the fort of the Holy Spirit (*Sancti Spiritus*) to Cuzco.

The story runs that when Sebastián Cabot came to the Plata region, he met two survivors of a still earlier expedition led by Solís. With Solís had been one Alejo García, who had ventured inland and reported of a land of fabulous wealth, with a white king. Cabot welcomed this news, and in 1529 he sent out an expedition to investigate it, as well as the possible existence of mines of gold and silver. This expedition was led by our Francisco César, who was accompanied by three or four or fourteen or twenty or thirty men. There is a similar diversity of opinion in regard to the route followed. One account is that César went west to the Andes and then north to Bolivia, reaching Cuzco at about the time when Pizarro, entering from the west, came to Cajamarca. A second version runs that César returned to report to Cabot after a journey to the Calchaquí valleys. Finding his leader gone and the fort destroyed, he again dauntlessly plunged into the wilderness, found a rich European city down in the Patagonian wilds near the lake of Nahuel-Huapí, and then followed the Andes north to Cuzco—a walk totaling some two thousand leagues according to the reckoning of the worthy Father Techo. A third version of the story, coming principally from declarations taken when Cabot was officially investigated, tells that the party of fourteen was divided into two groups, one of which just disappeared, possibly to Cuzco. The other

group, composed of César and six companions, returned after a journey of some forty or fifty days, during which time they had supposedly been to the lake of Nahuel-Huapí. This account, though documented, is as improbable as the others.⁶

There are misanthropic sceptics who speak of Andalusian imaginations and doubt even the existence of Francisco César—an attitude as negatively extreme as a positive belief in the extensiveness of César's travels and his loot of an emerald "the size of half a moon".⁷ Obviously truth and fable mixed, but it seems fairly certain that a real César went west through southern Tucumán and quite possibly reached the plains of San Luis and Mendoza. When Diego de Almagro, the second Spaniard to invade Tucumán, passed through the country en route to Chile, he was heartily attacked by the Indians, and five of his followers were killed. In view of the fact that the initial Indian reaction to a Spaniard was one of amazed curiosity, the instantaneous hostility aroused by Almagro may well be indicative of the fact that at least news of César had spread through the land.

Almagro entered Tucumán in 1535. Three great roads from Cuzco to Chile lay open to him.⁸ One went through the desert of Atacama and along the coast. A second road, by the mountains, was shorter but far more dangerous, with paths only practicable at certain seasons of the year. It passed through the present provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán, and Cajamarca. Though his guide, the Inca Paullu, strongly advised the coast road, Almagro chose the shorter mountain road instead and followed the Incan advice only on his return trip, after he had learned wisdom. The third road

⁶ See Juan Ramírez de Velasco, in "Información o probanzas de servicios hechos por los vecinos de la ciudad de Córdoba, al rey, 1585-1589", in *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, III, 64; Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 35; N. Avelleda, *op. cit.*, in *Nueva revista de Buenos Aires*, IV, 324; Ciro Bayo, *Los Césares de la Patagonia* (Madrid, 1913), pp. 49, 50; Lizondo Borda, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-103.

⁷ Ramírez de Velasco, *op. cit.*, in *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, III, 64.

⁸ Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo, "Tipos de alfarería en la región Diaguita-Calchaquí", in *La Plata, Universidad Nacional, Museo, Revista*, XV, 312.

between Cuzco and Chile turned aside from Almagro's inland route at Los Chichas.

In Chile, Araucanian Indian trouble led to Spanish requests for reinforcements from Peru and to increased traffic through Tucumán. Almagro's own journey through the land had left no personal trace save the highly irritated Indians waiting to greet any further Spaniards. By 1545, when Pedro de Valdivia wrote his first letter from Chile to the emperor Charles V, he reported that one Captain Monroy had returned from a recent journey to the northern supply base and that he regretfully noted "not having seen one peaceful Indian from Peru to here".⁹

Yet the Indians of Tucumán do not seem originally to have been an unduly ferocious lot, despite the accounts of Spanish chroniclers. The Spaniards had really annoyed the Indians, disturbed their whole manner, and often even continuance, of life. Spaniards were unpleasantly insistent about making Indians carry things from place to place, and when urged to replace a life of comparative ease by one of hard labor, Indians quite naturally objected. True, there had been Indian family quarrels and the Lules were reported as eating up the Juríes,¹⁰ but the fact that the Spaniards were the chroniclers and that the Juríes were their friends may have colored this report.

When the Spaniards entered Tucumán, many of its Indians were reputedly going to school. The historian Garcilaso tells how Indian deputies had called upon the Inca Viracocha, begging annexation to the Inca Empire, and offering gifts of cotton, honey, wax, grain, fruit, and vegetables. In return they received school-teachers—the Peruvian *amautas*, or those wise men who should teach the new subjects the religion

* Quoted in R. B. Cunningham Graham, *Pedro de Valdivia. Conqueror of Chile* (London, 1926), p. 137.

¹⁰ "Información levantada por el procurador del Cabildo de Santiago del Estero, Alonso Abad, entre los vecinos, destinada a demostrar los notables servicios prestados por dicha ciudad en el descubrimiento y conquista de la comarca de Tucumán", pp. 114-252, in Tucumán, Gobernación, *Correspondencia de los Cabildos en el Siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1918). See pp. 125, 173, 206, etc.

and laws and customs of the empire, together with such practical skills as those of irrigation and agriculture.¹¹ Apparently, the only districts actually occupied by the Incas were those of modern Jujuy, Salta, Cajamarca, Rioja, San Juan, and Mendoza—the lands of the Diaguitas. These Diaguitas, while overpowered, nevertheless kept their language and never were entirely submissive. The conquest was a political and military matter involving the collection of tribute, rather than one of colonization and the replacing of one culture by another.¹² However, by the time the Spaniards arrived, the Inca's subjects had been trained in many an art, as evidenced by archeological remains found in the region. The period of the Incan occupancy was reported to mark one of the best of all possible governments.¹³

Tucumán was a land of diversity of Indians as well as one of diversity of landscape.¹⁴ While many of its tribes frequently changed their territorial boundaries, in general, it may be said that Diaguitas lived in the mountain valleys to the west, the Comechingones in Córdoba, the Lules in north Tucumán and on the Salta plains, the Juríes in Santiago and west Tucumán. The Calchaquíes were merely the more annoying of the Diaguitas, if one spoke from the Spanish point of view. Of these main Indian cultures, that of the Diaguitas was of greatest importance.

The Diaguita culture problem involves a nice balance between the question of the possible existence of an autochthonous civilization and that of one originating in Peru. Anthropological experts seem to be in disconcerting and dis-

¹¹ Groussac, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6; Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 17, 18, 40; Lafone Quevedo, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

¹² Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 27; Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, *Historia del Descubrimiento de Tucumán* (Buenos Aires, 1916), pp. 229, 230, 308.

¹³ Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ For general material on the Indian civilizations of Tucumán, see such works as Pedro Sotelo Narváez, "Relación de las Provincias de Tucumán", in Latorre, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-151; Jaimes Freyre, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIX and his *El Tucumán del Siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires, 1914), Chapter II; Lizondo Borda, *op. cit.*, Chapters II and III.

courageously unanimous disagreement on the matter.¹⁵ Traces of Tiahuanaco culture, a pottery motif similar to that found at Recuay, Tupí-Guaraní influence in the use of a certain tiger motif and in the manner of construction of tombs, note of definitely Incan influences—all have been stressed. Since there seems to be no proof of the racial mingling of the Diaguitas and the Incas in the period immediately before the Spanish invasion and since it is doubtful whether the imposing archeological remains in the Calchaquí valleys belonged to the comparatively simple Diaguitas encountered there by the Spaniards, the general consensus of belief is in some early lost culture, influenced by diverse foreign elements. Involved is the fascinating possibility of an early culture sweep from the east to the west and north. The Diaguitas, with the imposing prehistoric ruins of their land and the evidences of their skill in weaving, ceramics, and basketry, still invite investigation.¹⁶

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion of traces of the various cultures which may possibly be found in Tucumán, see Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 10-80.

¹⁶ In his "Exploraciones arqueológicas en las Provincias de Tucumán y Cajamarca", published in the *Revista del Museo de la Universidad de La Plata* (XIX, *Primera parte*, pp. 1-199), Carlos Bruch has summarized the culture found in the Calchaquí region by describing the valleys of Taquí and of Santa María. Both seem to have been agricultural centers. The first region is noted for its curious monoliths and menhirs and for the absence of any ruins of dwellings—possibly because early houses had been made of perishable materials. In the second region, the valley of Santa María, were located such typical Indian settlements as Quilmes and Fuerte Quemado. Here are to be found remains of three types of constructions: dwellings; defense works, with walls, redoubts, and towers; and *andenes*, or terrace constructions for agricultural purposes. The most characteristic pottery of the region consists of great burial urns with their decorated covers.

The old town of Fuerte Quemado occupied approximately a square kilometer of land in the valley. Its houses were made of stones brought from the hills by swiftly running mountain streams. Fairly thick and high walls were made of these stones—superimposed and without the use of any cement—and these walls marked the quadrangular rooms of the houses. Each house was surrounded by a low wall. Broad streets running parallel north and south, separated one dwelling from another. Then there seem to have been other constructions, smaller, lower, and of circular form. A surprising number of cemeteries, in comparison with the size of the town, would seem to indicate that the settlement was very

As a people, the Diaguitas occasioned many a Spanish description. In general, a Diaguita was of so fierce an aspect that he caused terror and horror.¹⁷ He wore his hair long, unbraided; in the woolen band around his head were stuck brightly colored feathers. He stained his forehead with black, down to the eyes, while the rest of his face was painted "with a thousand colors". He was corpulent and of terrible aspect. From the level of his eyebrows down to his waist hung two scarlet bands made of wool. His arms were bare save for circlelets of bright rose-colored wool. Sandals were on his feet. Both men and women wore a shift which came down to their feet; this was girded up when they were about the business of hunting or war or any other kind of travel. A Diaguita never laid aside his bow or the quiver with its fifty and more arrows. He had the reputation of being brave and of having skill in shooting Spaniards.

Just as the Diaguitas were of greater courage than the other Indians, so were they of greater understanding. They

old. Away from the town, in the mountains, were the defense works, to whose strategically placed towers citizens might repair in time of need.

Quilmes was apparently the central town of the Santa María region. Like Fuerte Quemado, it consisted of two parts—a lowland town with upland fortifications. It differed from Fuerte Quemado in its lack of symmetry. The similarly constructed houses were here arranged irregularly; they might be grouped or they might be isolated by broad ditches and intricate passage-ways. The area covered was some three square kilometers. On the nearby mountain slopes were the parapets and other defense works. An aqueduct, constructed on the very side of the hill and at a considerable height, brought from many leagues away the city's water supply.

Other towns of the region present certain local peculiarities. The town of Hualfín has sepulchers of different form from those of other towns; remains of great arches have been found there; pottery types are also different. Remains found in the towns of La Ciénaga, Andalgala, and Ciudadcita indicate distinctive differences in culture. Finally, and out of harmony with the other archeological remains of the whole region, are certain mysterious petroglyphs found near Ampajango and Andalgala. Since no one has satisfactorily explained them, Paul Groussac has suggested that they were undoubtedly the work of the Jesuits and that their mystic signs point the way to the still waiting gold and silver mines of which the Indians had unhappily confessed!

¹⁷ From a Jesuit letter, quoted in Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, *El Tucumán del Siglo XVI*, pp. 35-36.

formed towns, lived by agriculture and skilful irrigation; obeyed a local chieftain, provided that he was strong enough to force that obedience. They were clever in weaving and in the use of vegetable dyes. They made baskets and beautifully decorated pottery; they worked in gold, silver, copper, tin, and bronze. In all, they were described as being "of more reason" than the Indians of the plains.¹⁸ These Diaguitas of the western valleys were important in the lives of the Spanish conquistadores because they so often brought those lives to an untimely end.

In pleasing contrast to the Diaguitas, the Juríes were the most properly submissive Indians of the land. Yet, despite Spanish friendship, the descriptions of the Juríes are none too flattering. The men dressed lightly in ostrich feathers and the women in some very little blankets woven of straw and wool. The main item of Jurí diet was fish, caught in a most individual way. An Indian would tie a cord about his waist and throw himself into a river. After a long while he would rise to the surface, with six, eight, and more fish hanging from his belt. "These he must have caught in some caves". Since they had so much fish to eat, the Juríes did not bother much with other food. However, they did have maize and frijoles and many manner of roots, such as the yucca. There were algarroba and chañar trees, and the land abounded with game. Honey, wax, sisal, rosin, and many dyes were to be found. In the midst of this plenty the Juríes had become lazy "by nature". In other respects, too, their characters were not above reproach. They were drunken like the rest, and worse. They made very potent, badly smelling chicha from the algarroba. They were great thieves and went abroad with bow and arrows, not only through fear of the tigers, but in case they might find people to assault. They did not hesitate to shoot a traveler to get his blanket.¹⁹

At the time of the coming of the Spaniards, hostile Lules

¹⁸ Sotelo Narváez, in Latorre, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 147; Barzana, in Jiménez de la Espada, *op. cit.*, II, lv.

¹⁹ Fray Reginaldo de Lizárraga, quoted in Lizondo Borda, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

were reported as keeping the Juríes well corraled in forts made of stakes. Miguel de Ardiles, reporting around 1567, emphasized Jurí affliction. "Had it not been for the favor of the Spaniards at this time, undoubtedly the Lules would have brought them to an end."²⁰ A desire to escape from such enemies probably accounted for Jurí fondness for Spaniards.

The Lules were nomads, in from the Chaco land. They had been highly successful in making a living from hunting, theft, and cannibalism. With the coming of the Spaniards, this happy state of things was ended; and such Lules as escaped the newcomers, hastily made their way back across the Salado River to their Chaco refuge land and independence. Those who did not escape went sorrowfully to work.

South of the Lules and Juríes were the peaceful Comechingones, who lived in Córdoba.²¹ In 1572, Don Gerónimo Luis de Cabrera wrote his report upon their land, where he was planning to found a city. In the neighborhood he had computed some six hundred little Indian towns, composed of from ten to forty houses, and each containing four or five families. These houses were necessarily large; for example, ten Spaniards with their horses hid in one of them, when ambushed for a skirmish. They were low, and at that, half their height was under ground. The purpose of the excavation of these cellars was for shelter in the cold weather and because there was a scarcity of wood in some places. The towns were circular in form and protected by hedges of prickly trees and thistles, as a military defense. Cabrera computed a total of some 30,000 Indian inhabitants.

Most of these Indians were clothed in beaded woolen shifts or in beautifully worked skins. They wore feather and metal ornaments. They busied themselves in agriculture, raising

²⁰ In Tucumán, Gobernación, *Correspondencia de los Cabildos en el Siglo XVI*, p. 23. See also, pp. 116, 125, 154, 206, etc. Jaimes Freyre also writes of the Lules in his *El Tucumán del Siglo XVI*, pp. 32-33.

²¹ On the Comechingones, see Cabrera, in Jiménez de la Espada, *op. cit.*, II, 140-141; Sotelo, in Latorre, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 150; Barzana, in Jiménez de la Espada, *op. cit.*, II, lvii, lviii.

maize and frijoles. They also ate the fruit of the algarroba and chañar, the edible roots of the land, and the plentiful game for which they hunted. Differing from other Indians, the Comechingones were not interested in intoxicating corn liquor. A curious custom of theirs was reported, however. They made a powder from the cebil tree and "drank it through their noses".²²

While the Diaguitas, Comechingones, Juries, and Lules were the main tribes of Tucumán, on the eastern and northern boundaries were many tribes that frequently came visiting. The Abipones were to the east and north of Córdoba; in the Chaco were Mocovíes, Tobas, and Chiriguanos; on the northern highlands were Humahuacas and Atacameños. Of all these Indians, the Chiriguanos became the most annoying. As late as 1586, however, the northern Indians seem not to have been too hostile to the Spaniards of Tucumán. They would come in from their land beyond the Bermejo River and bring feathers, skins, honey, and wax to trade. The skins were of deer and of the little mountain cats.²³

Considering the land of Tucumán as it was when the Spaniards came, it may be said to have been well populated by comparatively peaceful and happy Indians. With the exception of the newly invading Lules, those Indians were agricultural and sedentary. Their towns were well placed, with a nice regard for such essentials as the water supply on which soil fertility depended, nearness to natural food supplies, ease of defense and of communication. In lands where there was rock, the houses were built of stones and arranged in villages of the kind of which Quilmes was typical. On the plains of Tucumán, Salta, and Santiago, houses were mere brush shelters. In Córdoba, a wood covering of a dugout seems to have been typical.

Writing at the end of the sixteenth century, Father Barzana left a general description of Tucumán.²⁴ The land was re-

²² Sotelo, in Latorre, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

²³ Sotelo, in Latorre, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

²⁴ Barzana, in Jiménez de la Espada, *op. cit.*, II, lii-lxv.

ported as fertile. The algarroba furnished the basic food supply. It was also used in the unfortunate manufacture of a drink "so potent, that never are there more deaths and wars than during algarroba time". There were many kinds of fruit trees; sugarcane grew wild in the woods of Tucumán; there was an abundance of honey, varying in taste in accordance with that of the different kinds of bees which gathered it; game was plentiful. Agriculturally-minded Indians added to this natural food supply their crops of corn, frijoles, etc. Tucumán was a land "of much food".

Indian life was not without amusement. All our Indians of Tucumán were reported as "greatly given to singing and dancing, and so insistently, that some stay up all night, singing, dancing, and drinking". Notably would the natives of Córdoba, after having worked and walked all day, dance or indulge in chorus singing the greater part of the night. The big events of the year were the tiger- and lion-hunts, after which, gathered about their fires, Indians would tell tales of the apparition of mysterious, unknown Things; of strange cries heard in the woods; of black magic; of birds that lure unwary travelers to misfortune²⁵—a whole Indian lore.

Population figures for Tucumán have been consistently indefinite. Father Barzana admitted that he was unable to make any accurate estimate, but that "if Spanish thirst would allow the Indians to multiply, they would be innumerable".²⁶

Into this happy Indian land came Spaniards. They planted cities over its landscape; introduced animals and crops that changed its vegetation; and they changed the Indian language, dress, religion, and modes of life. Spaniards also busied themselves in fighting heartily with each other. The very fact that they were in Tucumán was indicative of the belligerency of their characters, for Diego de Rojas in 1543 led on the first *gran entrada* those soldiers who were regarded

²⁵ Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁶ Barzana, in Jiménez de la Espada, *op. cit.*, II, lvii. Further population figures may also be found in Sotelo. See Latorre, *op. cit.*

as a menace to the peace of Peru. Tucumán entered Spanish history either as a place through which one must pass in order to get to some other place, or as a place in which to dispose of potential trouble makers.

Despite the disreputable character of the Rojas expedition, it was of geographical importance through the very extensiveness of its travels.²⁷ Starting for Chile, it abandoned all such thoughts after meeting wily Indians who had learned that the way to get rid of Spaniards was to mention gold in other and distant lands. The Indians had also aroused a spirit of rivalry by exhibiting certain "Spanish chickens,"²⁸ reputed to have been brought from an eastern country where Spanish men were presumably finding wealth. The Rojas party immediately crossed the Andes and began its wanderings all over Tucumán. They toured the Calchaquí valley, the eastern plains, the Córdoba mountain region; finally they came to the Paraná. On its bank they found a cross with the sign "Carta al pie", and digging, there was a letter left by Irala, who wrote of Asunción and how passing Spaniards might get there! At this point, the party was undecided as to further procedure, but having killed the leader who had been unwise in his opposition to the majority will, they returned to Peru. Reports of wars and hope of consequent booty there hastened them on their way.

From 1546 to 1549 Peru was busy with civil war. Only when this unpleasantness was over did the authorities of Peru again think of Tucumán as a place where ex-soldiers might profitably be employed. Juan Núñez de Prado led this second expedition. He was assigned to the Jurí lands of Santiago.²⁹

²⁷ Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 106-149. This is a detailed, and excellent account of the travels of the Rojas expedition.

²⁸ This is one of many examples of the way in which Spanish livestock and Spanish agricultural crops—as well as Spanish disease—preceded Spanish conquest, driving ahead along old Indian trails and marking the lines of Indian travel.

²⁹ For a fuller account of the Núñez de Prado expedition and the colonizing work of Aguirre, see Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 178 ff.

The Juríes welcomed Spanish military aid against their local enemies. Moreover, they were told that an Indian who put a cross on his house could count on freedom from any unreasonable Spanish molestation. But presently there came into the land a second band of Spaniards who ignored the mystic symbolism of all the little crosses on Indian homes, who robbed in hearty Spanish fashion, and who killed all objectors. Francisco de Villagr , badly off his route to Chile, was attempting to annex Tucum n to the jurisdiction of his commander, Valdivia. N  nez de Prado too hastily attacked Villagr . He was defeated, and only after persuasion would he consent to believe that he was in Valdivia's jurisdiction and not in his own. Though allowed to continue in the land as a deputy ruler, it is interesting to note the haste with which he resigned that position and moved his little town of Barco out of the horrid Valdivia jurisdiction as soon as Villagr  had departed. Valdivia's fourth and fifth letters to Charles V, however, give a different interpretation of events:

Him [Prado] la Gasca gave a commission, to go and settle a valley he had heard of, called Tucum n, and he founded a town, calling it the city of El Barco. It would seem that when the said deputy Villagr  was going along 30 leagues away from El Barco, for he was thus ordered by the said President in Los Reyes, this Juan N  nez de Prado, with mounted men, fell suddenly at night on Villagr 's camp, firing muskets, harassing and killing soldiers and calling out: "Viva el rey y Juan N  nez de Prado". His reason . . . was to scatter those men, if he could, and tak  them for himself . . . and to play such pranks as they had been wont to do in those provinces. After steps had been taken against this, Juan N  nez de Prado, of his free will and without compulsion, gave up the authority he held, and which the President had given him, saying he could not maintain that town, and the cabildo and townsfolk asked of Francisco de Villagr , since it fell within the bounds of this government, to take it under his care, and in my name to administer it, that it might be maintained and kept in being; and he . . . put it in your Majesty's name under my protection and shelter. . . .³⁰

³⁰ As translated in Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

After Villagr 's departure,

One "Juan N 'ez de Prado" laid waste the town of El Barco which the said Villagr ' had fostered in your Majesty's name and . . . went off to Peru, hanging an alcalde. . . .⁸¹

The passage of Villagr ' through Tucum 'n had been unfortunate. It had necessitated the removal of the Spanish town; it had commandeered many necessary Spanish supplies; vitally important soldier settlers had been induced to leave for Chile. Moreover, after noting Spanish weakness, the Indians turned against their former masters, burned their crops, and sought a general revenge for Spanish insults. Hunger, fear, lack of discipline, discontent grew. Barco was moved again, in a hope of Indian escape; settlers despaired and grew to dislike their N 'ez de Prado cordially.

At this period there came to Tucuman the most remarkable man of its history, and one who was to control its destinies for a period of approximately twenty years. From 1553 to 1572, Francisco de Aguirre either ruled Tucum 'n in person, or someone ruled it for him while he was collecting supplies and straightening out his many personal difficulties with the Inquisition. It was under Aguirre that Santiago, Argentina's first permanent town, was founded and that systematic expansion began. Settlers were collected, supplies shipped in, Spanish livestock and crops introduced. In 1554, five brave warriors ventured through the hostile Indian lands to Chile to escort back the equally brave padres who were to supervise the spiritual salvation of new little Santiago. By 1556, trade with Chile and with Peru had begun. Tucum 'n was exporting honey, wax, cotton, and dyes; it imported clothing, livestock (horses, cows, goats, sheep), plants, and seeds.

While a hardy conquistador and a practical administrator, Aguirre was unfortunately indiscreet. Such statements as "One did far more service to God by creating Mestizos than the sin thereby involved"⁸² made good copy for the Inquisition.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸² See Levillier, *op. cit.*, I, 205, for this and further indiscretions.

Though twice taken to Peru to make a proper explanation, Aguirre was finally released and pardoned. However, as it was felt that his presence and that of his enemies in the same province would mean civil war and as settlers were too precious to be wasted, the old conquistador was retired to Chile.

After Aguirre, leading governors of sixteenth century Tucumán were Gerónimo Luis de Cabrera, the inefficient Gonzalo de Abreu, and the very bad Hernando de Lerma. It is typical of Tucumán's history that Cabrera was murdered by Abreu, who, in turn, was tortured and murdered by Lerma. Lerma was so thoroughly unsatisfactory that he was forcibly removed by the audiencia even before the completion of his term of office. Then came the good governor and colonizer, Juan Ramírez de Velasco. The century ended with the comparatively obscure Hernando de Zárate and Pedro de Mercado de Peñalosa.

Through this century of colonization and settlement, it is interesting to trace the Spanish plan behind Spanish rule and occupation of the land. The first purpose in entering Tucumán had been to get rid of possible trouble makers or to give a suitable reward to faithful supporters of the Crown. An economic emphasis was given to the subsequent strategic and political occupation of the land by an interest in eastern expansion with the establishment of a river port which should make possible direct trade from Peru to Spain by way of Tucumán.³³ In contrast to these plans for eastern expansion was the stress upon the assurance of the conquests already made and of safe communication between Peru and Chile. However, with Cabrera and his foundation of Córdoba and the river ports—San Luis on the Paraná and Santa Fe—the idea of eastern expansion for the purposes of trade finally gained the ascendancy and pointed the way to the eventual realization of the viceroyalty of 1776 two hundred years later.

Not only was there a Spanish plan behind the conquest as a whole, but the location of individual towns was well consid-

³³ Levillier, *op. cit.*, II, 9-11, 28-29, 59, 60, 138; III, 4, 11, 212. Audiencia de Charcas, *op. cit.*, II, 35-36; III, 101-102, and 274.

ered. Spanish cities might fail temporarily, but a new town rose upon the ruins of the old in emphasis of the fixity of Spanish purpose. Barco I (1550) became Cañete (1559) and San Miguel (1565) and modern Tucumán (1683). Similarly Nieva (1562) led to San Francisco de Alaya (1575) and then to Jujuy (1593). San Clemente II was followed by San Clemente III (1577) and then in the same valley, though not on the same exact site, came Salta (1582). In 1591, new Rioja was founded near the ruins of Londres I (1558) and Londres II. Near Barco II (1551) was founded Córdoba de Calchaquí (1559) which in turn was followed by San Clemente I (1562) and then Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (1631). Barco III (1552) became old (1553) and then modern Santiago del Estero (1554). In 1609, Talavera de Esteco (of 1567) merged with Madrid de las Juntas (of 1592) to become Talavera de Madrid, but only to disappear in the earthquake of 1692.³⁴

Yet though a cool Spanish plan for conquest and the organization of settlement might well be of fundamental importance, there were other reasons for the ultimate success of the occupation. These were both romantic and economic. The first led to a rapid and thorough reconnaissance of the territory; the second led to permanency and controlled the growth of settlement.

The romantic reason for the exploration of Tucumán was the determined Spanish search for a "lost" land.³⁵ This "land of the Cesars", named after Francisco César, Tucumán's first pioneer, but really having nothing to do with him,

³⁴ See Levillier, *op. cit.*, II, 28, 203, 218; III, 43-47, 131-136.

³⁵ See "Derroteros y viajes a la Ciudad Encantada o de los Césares que se creía existiese en la Cordillera al sud de Valdivia", in Pedro de Angelis, *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la Historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata*, I, 353-401; Ciro Bayo, *Los Césares de la Patagonia* (Madrid, 1913); Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra, "Relación de las provincias del Río de la Plata", in *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, III, 23-24; Juan Ramírez de Velasco, "Informe al Rey", in *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, III, 43-44, 54-55; "La ciudad de los Césares", in *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, III, 285 ff.; N. Avellaneda, "Don Pablo Groussac. Ensayo histórico sobre el Tucumán", in *Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires*, IV, 324.

reputedly lay somewhere to the south. It was a lost kingdom of shipwrecked Spaniards, who were popularly supposed to have attained wealth in the wilderness and to be longing for Spanish comrades to share it with them and to join them in Catholic fellowship. There was, of course, many a version of the story, but the remarkable thing about it was its potent influence on men's lives. Political, military, and religious leaders either went looking for these Spanish Cesars, or made extensive plans to go, or sent their subordinates. Witness after witness was solemnly examined, and whatever information he might give was forwarded to Spain. Bishops and viceroys sent Indian letter-carriers wandering out into Patagonian wilds with messages to the Cesars written in many a language, just in case these lost brother Spaniards might have forgotten their own. That the Cesars and their land were never found did not affect the importance of the geographical knowledge resultant from the search.

Economic law regulated the land gained by military conquest and organized with a view to political control. Roads were opened through Tucumán and over these roads went trade. As early as 1586, Portuguese merchants were reported in Santiago del Estero, "selling the things that they have brought".³⁶ Presently, this eastern trade progressed to an extent alarming to the monopolist control of Spanish merchants, led to Spanish restrictions despite American protests. By the end of the sixteenth century Tucumán had theoretically settled down to a languid economic existence under the control of Lima, but practically, that life was far from being as languid as it seemed. Spain had required the impossible. The money of Potosí and the raw materials of the inland cities of Tucumán moved down to the coast, there to be exchanged for the manufactured necessities smuggled

³⁶ Gobernación de Tucumán, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Audiencia de Charcas, *op. cit.*, III, 87. Further material on trade is to be found in Ricardo Levene's introduction to the *Documentos para la Historia argentina*, published by the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the National University of Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires, 1915, V, vii-cxvi).

in by enterprising Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese. The urge to live united Tucumán with the Río de la Plata. Settlers might officially and humbly beg for the means of survival, but whether granted or no, they availed themselves of those means. The two regions were interdependent. And growth of settlement obeyed economic law.

Spanish colonial life in Tucumán centered in the basic unit of the Spanish system of occupation—the Spanish town.³⁷ Such a town was built in strict accordance with definite specifications prescribed in the laws of the Indies. One began with a rectangular central square. Around it were located the church, the jail, the cabildo or town hall, and the lots for convents and for the principal citizens. From this central square, straight streets divided the surrounding land into the rectangular lots which which were apportioned to the settlers. Then there came an open space of three hundred paces, left for defense purposes, and fortifications of stockades and trenches. Outside the walls were the grazing and farm lands. After marking out their town, the settlers planted crops and built their homes. These must “be of one form, for the sake of the adornment of the town”. Each had several patios and a corral; it was backed against its neighbor for purposes of mutual protection. Walls were of adobe; roofs of straw or palm. Later, cornices were attempted, floors were paved, walls whitewashed, and rejas of turned wooden bars reminded the settlers of their native Spain.

To found a town, one must first collect thirty qualified settlers—men who possessed a minimum fixed amount of property, including a definite number of cattle. But additional settlers were badly needed. The land itself might be good, but men must work it and defend it, and honorable governors must administer it and “not turn their interest to pleasure, and drawing their salary, and plundering their land, leave it forlorn”.³⁸ A settler’s lot, however, was none too

³⁷ See Groussac, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-64, and Jaimes Freyre, *El Tucumán del Siglo XVI*, p. 14.

³⁸ Audiencia de Charcas, *op. cit.*, III, 29.

happy. He lacked the proper tools with which to work. He was badly in need of clothing and even of food. For example, poverty in Talavera was such that settlers ate horse and dog meat, or sold their Spanish clothing in exchange for food and then imitated the Indian dress of deerskins or ostrich feathers.³⁹ One has to imagine a conquistador dressed in ostrich feathers to get a proper perspective of colonial conditions! Again, Spanish settlers frequently died from Indians, as well as from hunger, for Indians were "a warlike, astute, and devilish people who fought beastially to defend their land, in their desire to cast the Spaniards out of it".⁴⁰

Indian trouble was a serious matter in Spanish settlements; in fact there was a proverb which ran "Sin indios, no hay Indias".⁴¹ Here the Indians referred to, however, are not the Indian warriors on the outside, but the Indian laborers within the Spanish colonies. This Indian factor conditioned the progress and even the life of the colonies. Unfortunately, Indians ran away or were stolen or died. They, themselves, fled to desert or mountain regions where it would be hard for Spaniards to find them, or passing merchants stole them and drove them away to do the work in other lands. Governor Lerma officially countenanced a wholesale destruction of Tucumán's native population by allowing the Indians to be driven away like cattle and hired out or sold in Chile and in Charcas. Eight thousand Indians were reported to have disappeared in this way alone. Each Spanish conquering expedition was fatal to the health of thousands of Indian burden bearers, and there were many such expeditions. Almagro alone is said to have left a "one hundred league empty land behind him, all sown with frozen dead Indians".⁴² As a result of this destruction of the native population, not a fourth part of the Indians who had been in the land at the time of

³⁹ Levillier, *op. cit.*, III, 126; Gobernación de Tucumán, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁴⁰ Gobernación de Tucumán, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴¹ Levillier, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Audiencia de Charcas, *op. cit.*, III, 59, 274.

⁴² Fernando de Santillán, in Jiménez de la Espada, *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades*, p. 96.

the Inca were left by 1560. Repartimientos of thirty thousand had supposedly been reduced to two thousand. However, the land was far from deserted. Population figures given for 1584 report in Santiago del Estero 48 Spanish *vecinos* and 12,000 Indians; San Miguel had 25 *vecinos* and 3,000 Indians; Córdoba, 40 *vecinos* and 18,000 Indians.⁴³

Governor Juan Ramírez de Velasco's report of 1586 is an excellent official portrayal of sixteenth-century conditions in Tucumán.⁴⁴ The governor had found five towns in his land—Santiago, San Miguel, Talavera, Córdoba, and Salta—though the last was called a town merely out of courtesy. Two of the governor's main problems were the need for more settlers and for more livestock. As one means of meeting the first issue, Velasco was busily finding husbands for more than two hundred maidens, daughters of conquistadores, "who had no other help save that of God and Your Majesty", as the governor wrote to the king. He reported,

I have married off ten, and some with two or three repartimientos. Two results have been obtained, which are: marrying these poor girls, and increasing the number of settlers, for from one, two will be made.

He planned to marry two dozen more to the soldiers of Salta, and the rest would be attended to in the very first town that should be founded. Velasco also called the king's attention to the disgraceful stealing of the Indian population to be sold in Potosí or Chile in exchange for Spanish clothing and other luxuries. To climax this indignity offered to the poor Indian, the governor noted that he was not even given *alpargatas* for his weary walk to slavery in Chile or Peru.

Ramírez de Velasco was also interested in economic matters. There was need of an increase in the livestock of Tucumán. Owing to the carelessness of early governors, the respectably sized herds of cattle, horses, goats, and sheep of earlier times, had been lamentably depleted. And the high

⁴³ See the "Relación" of Pedro Sotelo Narváez, quoted in Latorre, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-151.

⁴⁴ See *Revista de la Biblioteca Pública de Buenos Aires*, III, 31-51.

prices of commodities from Peru were distressing. A yard of cloth cost thirty pesos, a pound of soap three pesos, four horseshoes cost six pesos, and a quire of paper, three.

In contrast to these unhappy circumstances, the governor noted that while, to date, no gold or silver had been found in his land, yet there was great news of such mines in the hostile Indian country. Also he had news of a land of the Césars. It lay between Chile and the northern sea, and behind Arauco. North and south, it extended some 350 leagues, from Córdoba to the strait of Magellan. In it were many people and much gold. If it is the king's will, as soon as Ramírez de Velasco has settled the Calchaquí and Salta valleys—a matter of a possible two years—he will organize a party at his own expense and conquer this rich land for his king. In return, may he please have the title of adelantado of that land, a tenth part of the Indians who shall be conquered, and two robes of the order of Santiago—one for himself and one for his oldest son?

Summarizing, then, the changes wrought in sixteenth-century Tucumán, one may say that Spaniards have come in, have founded their monotonously geometrical little cities, have introduced their Spanish animals, trees, food crops, and weeds. By the end of the century, the Indians are far fewer in number than they were at its beginning, and those still surviving have changed their mode of life. If properly submissive, Indians now live where they can most efficiently work for Spaniards. They speak Spanish or, at the worst, Quechuan, as these languages have become generalized and replaced the pleasing individuality of dialect of pre-conquest times. Indians now wear more and a different kind of clothing. Strange new items of food have been added to their diet. Indian economy has been badly upset.

The main work of the conquest in Tucumán is over. To be sure there are hostile Indians on the frontiers, but the land itself is safely occupied. Spanish colonial life will develop slowly. Religious orders will build their houses; the land will become more extensively cultivated; livestock numbers

will be increased; new industries will develop; new settlers come. Eventually there will come a conflict between the arbitrary economic control of the region from a Peruvian base and the economic interests of the land itself. When Buenos Aires and Argentina's economic interests win, the new viceroyalty of Buenos Aires will be created and Argentina will at last turn its back upon Peru and face the world trade markets to the east. For two hundred years Argentina was Tucumán; with 1776, Argentina begins to be Buenos Aires.

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ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The crisis in Anglo-American relations, precipitated by the Venezuelan boundary controversy, appears, in its larger aspects, as a clash between the conflicting aspirations of Pan Americanism and British Imperial Federation. "Manifest Destiny", which regarded Canada as belonging to the new world and predicted the ultimate union of the English-speaking race on this continent, was stimulated by the "continental idea" as visioned in the Pan American Congress of 1889: a movement to draw the American republics closer together by means of commercial reciprocity and arbitration agreements.¹ There is considerable evidence to show that the republican tariff thereafter was motivated by a desire to hasten "manifest destiny" by forcing Canada to seek admission to the Union.² Instead, the McKinley tariff and reciprocity negotiations caused Canada to look to England for relief and gave impetus to the movement for imperial federation,³ which tended to dispel the belief that Great Britain was relaxing its hold upon this continent. In the controversy about seal-fishing in the Bering Sea, the reopened dispute of the North-eastern fisheries, the question of ownership of islands in the Lake of the Woods,⁴ and the boundary of British and American possessions in Alaska in the vicinity of gold fields,⁵ the

¹ A. Curtis Wilgus, "Blaine and the Pan American Movement", in *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V, 662-708.

² Alice Felt Tyler, *Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine*, Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1924, pp. 693-694, quotes a letter of Blaine to President Harrison, September, 1891. Henry Cabot Lodge, "Our Blundering Foreign Policy", in *Forum*, XIX (March, 1895), 12-15. Andrew Carnegie, "What I would do with the Tariff if I were Czar", *ibid.*, p. 25.

³ Marquis of Lorne, "Latest Aspects of Imperial Federation", in *North American Review*, CLVI (October, 1893), 490.

⁴ *Foreign Relations*, 1895, Part I, pp. 683, 703, 733-734.

⁵ *Congressional Record*, XXVIII, Part I, 254.

United States in 1895 came unpleasantly into conflict with Great Britain to the north.

"Manifest Destiny" was associated with another movement of tremendous interest in the United States—the building and control of an Isthmian canal. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty stood in the way of its accomplishment. In the spring of 1895, Great Britain seemed to show a disposition to reassert authority over the Mosquito Coast, a region near the proposed canal formerly claimed as a protectorate.⁶ When Nicaragua expelled from the region certain traders, among whom was a British vice consul, Great Britain demanded an indemnity and seized the port of Corinto until reparation should be made. Arbitration was asked by Nicaragua but was refused.⁷ Americans regarded the occupation of Corinto as evidence that Great Britain would dispute the right of the United States to build the canal, and a storm of protest arose in the press questioning whether Great Britain had not violated the Monroe Doctrine as well as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.⁸ The administration at Washington, although unwilling to interfere in disciplinary actions for enforcement of pecuniary reparations, evinced concern as to the implications of British policy in Nicaragua.⁹

Coming, as the Corinto affair did, just after the agitation of the long-standing Venezuelan boundary controversy had begun in the press, both questions took on a new significance. Since the truce of 1850 establishing the *status quo* in the dis-

⁶ Mary W. Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915*. Washington, American Historical Association, 1916, p. 291.

⁷ A. G. Gardiner, *Life of Sir William Harcourt* (London, Constable & Co., 1923), pp. 320-321.

⁸ "Corinto Occupied", in *American Review of Reviews*, XI (June, 1895), 620-621. J. B. McMaster to *New York Herald*, quoted in *Public Opinion*, May 9, 1895, p. 502: Should England hold the ports of Nicaragua longer than is necessary to secure the indemnity, "the Monroe Doctrine would apply and our duty would be resistance".

⁹ London *Times*, October 21, 1895, p. 5. Bayard to Olney, April 5, 1895, *Olney Papers*, notes the British demand for "exclusion of any citizen of an American state" from the commission to ascertain the value of property in Nicaragua.

puted area,¹⁰ contemporary with a similar truce in Nicaragua—the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, British claims, despite Venezuelan protests, had expanded steadily toward the Orinoco and the gold mining district of the Yurari. Venezuelan requests for arbitration had been refused, even when supported by the good offices of the United States.¹¹ Studied in the light of racial enterprise, Great Britain's movements seemed to indicate a deliberate aggression; its history in other parts of the world increased the impression.¹² Public attention was directed to the chain of colonial possessions and strategic fortified posts controlling the Caribbean, which, considered in connection with Canada, where the recently completed Canadian Pacific stretched along the northern border of the United States to the naval station on the Pacific, tended to produce an impression of "encirclement".¹³ Great Britain was exercising a dominating influence over other continents; it now seemed to threaten a controlling power in America.

British empire builders of the type of Joseph Chamberlain in the Colonial Office and Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, assisted by the missionary propaganda of race enthusiasts,¹⁴

¹⁰ *British Blue Book, Venezuela*, I, No. 58 (June 15, 1850), 260; No. 61 (November 18, 1850), 263; No. 62 (December 20, 1850), 265. See also, J. J. Storrow to Olney, September 17, 1896, *Olney Papers*, "The truce of 1850 should not be waived nor ignored".

¹¹ *British Blue Book*, I, No. 115 (February 20, 1884), 309-311; No. 152 (July 27, 1885), 251; II, No. 4 (May 26, 1890), 3. *Senate Executive Document*, 226; No. 39 (February 22, 1887), p. 84.

¹² J. B. McMaster, "Meaning and Application of the Monroe Doctrine", in *New York Times*, January 2, 1896: "Take a map of the world and mark on it England's possessions in 1800, in 1825, in 1880, in 1896. Then take a map of the British claims in Venezuela and see that history repeated. Are we to consider this of no moment?"

¹³ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, Part I (December 10, 1895), 111-112. Speeches of Senator Lodge and of Senator Cullom of Illinois. Henry M. Stanley, "Issue Between Great Britain and America", in *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1896, p. 2.

¹⁴ Rev. J. Astley Cooper, "Proposed Pan Anglican Festival", in *Greater Britain*, November, 1891; "An Anglo Saxon Olympiad", in *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1891; "Americans and the Pan Britannic Movement", in *ibid.*, September, 1892. Earl of Meath, "Anglo-Saxon Unity", in *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1891. W. T. Stead, editor of *Review of Reviews*, founded in 1890 and dedicated

looked toward a confederation of all English-speaking countries. The bonds of a common race, language, literature, law, and a mutual interest in Protestant religion and in the advance of democratic institutions provided the cultural foundations for Anglo-American unity, and intermarriage and immigration made for closer social ties.¹⁵ The great naval study of Captain Mahan of the American navy, appearing when Englishmen were becoming apprehensive of the rise of German commercial and naval power, brought military considerations to the aid of racial aspirations for an Anglo-American naval alliance that would assure an effective supremacy of the seas.¹⁶ Mutual political interests in an aloofness from European entanglements and common interests in the Far East and the Americas,¹⁷ combined with a reciprocal commercial interdependence,¹⁸ suggested union in the diplomacy of Great Britain and the United States; perhaps the Monroe Doctrine might be used as a foundation upon which to build Pan Anglican relations and promote their destiny to control the

to promoting the destiny of "God's Englishmen" and fraternal union with America.

¹⁵ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, 134. In 1895, there were several international marriages, which caused Senator Allen of Nebraska to wish that the Monroe Doctrine might prevent "American heiresses wasting themselves upon titled foreign mendicants". See also, Senator Stewart of Nevada, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Sir George Clarke, "A Naval Union with Great Britain", in *North American Review*, CLVIII (March, 1894), 360-365; Arthur S. White, "An Anglo-American Alliance", in *ibid.* (April, 1894), pp. 484-493; Lord Charles Beresford, "Possibilities of an Anglo-American Alliance", in *ibid.* (November, 1894), pp. 564-574; A. T. Mahan, "Possibilities of an Anglo-American Reunion", in *ibid.*, p. 560; Lord Brassey, "Federation for Naval Defense", in *Nineteenth Century*, XXXI (January, 1893), 91-92; "Nauticus", "The United Anglo-Saxon Will", in *Fortnightly Review*, LXXII (July, 1894).

¹⁷ Sir Henry Howorth to London *Times*, April 25, 1895. A. Carnegie, "A Look Ahead", in *North American Review*, CLX (June, 1893), 685-710.

¹⁸ Carnegie, "An American View of imperial Federation", in *Nineteenth Century*, XXX (September, 1891), 491. Edward Atkinson, "The Interdependence of the English-speaking Peoples", an address, December 27, 1896, in *Cleveland Papers*, cites Treasury statistics of 1895 showing increased trade with Great Britain and little trade with South America. Dr. Sidney Sherwood, "An Alliance with England the Basis of a rational Foreign Policy", in *Forum*, XXI (March, 1896), pp. 94-99.

world.¹⁹ To some statesmen, the history of the modern arbitration movement, appearing to center in the English-speaking peoples, indicated that federation might take practical form in an Anglo-American council to settle any disputes by conference and discussion.²⁰ In America, Andrew Carnegie, an ardent advocate of arbitration and of "continental union" with Canada, gave hearty support to the movement for race alliance,²¹ and Professor Goldwin Smith in Canada contributed his services to the cause of "continental union" and British-American confederation.²² Ambassador Bayard in London embraced the opportunity to further good-will between the English-speaking nations and thereby aroused the censure of patriots at home.²³

In the United States, geographical isolation, fostered by the twin policies of commercial protection and political seclusion, and by a latent Anglophobia which had its origin in the Irish-American population and in the traditional version of historical grievances, combined to offset the cultural basis of racial nationalism and to develop a distinct sentiment of nationality, cherishing the ideals of "republicanism" as a common interest and destiny of the peoples of the American continents.²⁴ Certain Republicans, reading the philosophy of "protectionism" into the Monroe Doctrine which they seemed

¹⁹ London *Spectator*, October 12, 1895, pp. 478-479; October 26, p. 545. Stead, *Review of Reviews*, November, 1895, p. 386.

²⁰ Sir George Grey, "Federation of the Anglo-Saxon Race", in *Humanitarian*, V (August, 1894), 85-90. See also, Clarke, *op. cit.*, and Letter to London *Times*, April 29, 1895, p. 5.

²¹ Carnegie, "A Look Ahead", and "An American View of imperial Federation", *op. cit.*; Burton J. Hendricks, *Life of Andrew Carnegie*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1932, I, 423.

²² Goldwin Smith, "Anglo-Saxon Union", *North American Review*, August, 1893, pp. 170-185; "The Monroe Sentiment", *Saturday Review*, December 14, 1895, p. 795.

²³ Thomas Bayard, "Impressions of England", in London *Times*, October 18, 1894; on Relations of Kinsmen, *ibid.*, November 14, 1895; on Anglo-American Relations, *ibid.*, April 23, 1896.

²⁴ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, 262. Senator Turpie of Indiana in *Foreign Relations*, 1895, Part I, pp. 555-560. Olney dispatch.

to be about to appropriate,²⁵ viewed with alarm Great Britain's activities in America and President Cleveland's currency and tariff legislation which they attributed to British influence.²⁶ Senator Lodge declared:

Let England's motives or feelings be what they may; we are concerned for the interests of the United States. If Great Britain is to be permitted to occupy the ports of Nicaragua and still worse take the territory of Venezuela, France and Germany will do it also . . . the American people are resolved that the Nicaraguan canal shall be built and absolutely controlled by the United States. The supremacy of the Monroe Doctrine must be established and at once—peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.²⁷

By invoking the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan question where a good moral case could be found and where American interests were not directly involved, the United States might avert coming to blows with Great Britain on the canal issue in which its position was not so good. This action would warn all European countries that the carving-up process then almost completed in Africa and beginning in China was not to be tolerated in America.²⁸ The boundary question was made the occasion of a greater issue, the "re-assertion" of

²⁵ *Guntton's Magazine*, X, 1. Editorial. "The Monroe Doctrine is the application of the principle of protection to the evolution of democratic institutions in America. It demands the non-extension of monarchic governments . . .". Lodge, *op. cit.*, connection is implied.

²⁶ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, 134. Senator Allen of Nebraska said it was as necessary to protect America from the aggressions of British capital as from territorial aggression; the Monroe Doctrine applied to the American system of finance as opposed to the "alliance of monarchy and the gold standard." Lodge, "Our blundering Foreign Policy", *op. cit.*, "The Democratic party is Cobdenized. . . . Our free traders are breaking down the American system".

²⁷ Lodge, "England, Venezuela, and the Monroe Doctrine", in *North American Review*, CLX (June, 1895), pp. 657-658.

²⁸ Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of *American Review of Reviews*, founded January, 1891, in coöperation with Stead's *English Review*, to promote good feeling with England and interpret American opinion, championed Nicaragua and Venezuela and proposed a Pan American Congress of American Republics to warn Great Britain; *ibid.*, X (October, 1894), 363 and (December, 1894), 602; XI (January, 1895), 10.

the Monroe Doctrine and the declaration of the supremacy of the United States in the new world.

There was much in the tone and substance of the Olney exposition of "Monroeism" to jar upon the Conservative Prime Minister, Salisbury, who recently had resumed his duties again at the Foreign Office. He had served during the period of "smart dispatch writing" of Secretary Blaine when Canadian Questions had troubled Anglo-American diplomacy,²⁹ and had repudiated the agreement of his predecessor to include the boundary dispute in an arbitration provision with Venezuela.³⁰ Olney's assertion that distance makes "any permanent political union between an European and an American state unnatural and inexpedient" was addressed to a power whose territory in America almost equaled in area that of the United States; this power, "for purposes of the Monroe Doctrine", was to be classed not as an American but as an European state. A further development of the rule of Monroe, Olney found in "the objection to arbitration of South American controversies by an European power. American questions it is said are for American decision".³¹

The report of Lord Salisbury's ultimatum to Venezuela, demanding apology and reparation for the mistreatment of

²⁹ *London Times*, December 25, 1895, p. 4. Lord Playfair in a letter said: "Mr. Blaine who wrote sharp dispatches, as American politicians are apt to do, assured me that nothing could ever induce the United States to go to war with England, and he authorized me to express this to the then Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury".

³⁰ *British Blue Book*, I, No. 149 (June, 1885), 348. Article of a commercial treaty provided that any differences which cannot be adjusted by friendly negotiations will be submitted to the arbitrament of a third party. *Ibid.*, No. 147 (May 15, 1885), 338, Granville agreed this should include all differences, and not only those which may arise on the interpretation of the treaty. *Ibid.*, No. 152 (July, 1885), 351, Lord Salisbury refused to concur.

³¹ *Foreign Relations*, 1895, I, 559. Bayard to Cleveland, July 18, 1895, *Cleveland Papers*, "None of these South American states hesitate, without the slightest consultation with the United States, to refer to European arbitrament questions of boundary or any other nature. . . . Our liabilities whatever they are should be well defined and the principle upon which we assume to defend and execute them should be capable of clear statement".

British officials in the Yurari,³² following close upon Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch advising that guns be placed at this station,³³ was regarded by Americans as an indirect reply to the Olney dispatch and increased the popular impression that Great Britain was handing out ultimatums rather freely in the new world. Lodge, in Paris, was

on pins and needles to get home. If we allow England to invade Venezuela, nominally for reparation as at Corinto, really for territory, our supremacy in the Americas is over.³⁴

The grant by Venezuela of a large concession of land to the revived Manoa Company,³⁵ composed of American citizens, tended to disqualify the United States as an impartial arbitrator³⁶ and to increase the danger of involving the United States in trouble with Great Britain.³⁷ The renewal of the Yurarian Question by the British Government, after Mr. Olney's statement of the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the boundary dispute had been received, seemed to indicate a disposition to ignore entirely the interests of the United States in the matter.³⁸ Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain appeared to be getting the boundary question into a position

³² *St. James Gazette*, quoted by New York papers of October 20 and 21. *Foreign Relations*, 1895, II, pp. 1485-1486, Venezuelan minister reported the arrest was unauthorized, the officials were released, and the guilty punished.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1482-1485.

³⁴ Lodge, *Selections from the Correspondence of Roosevelt and Lodge* (New York, Scribner's, 1925), I, 193.

³⁵ *British Blue Book*, I, No. 139, 330, grant of 1884 to Manoa Company. G. H. D. Gossip, "England in Nicaragua and Venezuela", in *Fortnightly Review* (December, 1896), 832.

³⁶ Bayard to Olney, April 5, 1895, *Olney Papers*.

³⁷ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, quotes Morley to Harecourt, January 25, 1896. "It is thought here that the American syndicate who get concessions for gold from Venezuela in territory long in our occupation have intervened and are bullying the American Government".

³⁸ Olney to Chamberlain, September 28, 1896, *Olney Papers*. "... the seeming if not intentional contumely with which the statement of our position on the Venezuelan boundary question was received by the British Foreign Office . . . seemed to be explicable only on the theory that we had no policy such as we claimed to have; or if we had it, that we had no right to it; or if we had, that we had neither the spirit nor the ability to defend it".

where it would become secondary and be determined by the coercive measures brought against Venezuela, and the Monroe Doctrine would remain unacknowledged yet not disputed.³⁹ This impression deepened into conviction as months passed bringing no response to Mr. Olney's demands for arbitration. Considered in connection with the British dispatches in which, going beyond the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine to the dispute, Lord Salisbury entered into an irritating discussion of the status of the doctrine itself,⁴⁰ this accounted in a large measure for the decisive tone of the president's message in which Cleveland backed up Olney's "twenty-inch gun" with a manifesto no less vigorous.⁴¹

The popular support of the president's policy, apparently indicating a willingness to shed American blood on behalf of the Spanish-speaking Catholic Republic of Venezuela as against the English-speaking "subjects" of British Guiana was incomprehensible to most Englishmen who regarded war with the United States as civil war.⁴² The fact that a most unpopular president could gain an unprecedented and almost unanimous approval by attacking Great Britain⁴³ was not a

³⁹ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII (December 3, 1895), 420. Lodge analyzed the situation: "... If Venezuela pays now the indemnity demanded by England and admits that she does so because those men being on British territory were wrongfully arrested, she gives her whole case away".

⁴⁰ *Foreign Relations*, 1895, I, 564 ff. Dispatches of November 26.

⁴¹ R. M. McElroy, *Grover Cleveland, the Man and the Statesman* (New York, Harpers, 1922), II, 194, shows Cleveland's reaction on the attitude of the British government in letter to Bayard quoted.

⁴² James Bryce, "British Feeling on the Venezuelan Question", in *North American Review*, CLXII (February, 1896), 145. *London Times*, December 21, 1895, p. 10. "The children born in America of English parents out-herod Herod and are the most decided partisans of the 'America for the Americans' policy". *Ibid.*, February 4, 1896, p. 10. Balfour described the reported hostility as "simply incredible". *Canada House of Commons Debates*, 1896, p. 1201, Sir Richard Cartwright said that in Canada one family in ten had a near relative in the United States and he thought it "a thousand pities were a single drop of Anglo-Saxon blood shed for the sake of those murderous man-monkeys in South America".

⁴³ *Public Opinion*, XIX (December 26, 1895), 337, stated: "It is doubtful if ever before there has been so nearly unanimous an expression of press approval

consoling reflection to those who looked toward Anglo-American coöperation. Mr. Stead asked:

Are the interests of the English-speaking race to be sacrificed to the fetish of the republican label which barely conceals the revolutionary anarchy of the half-breeds of Venezuela?⁴⁴

Yet American sympathy for England as against Germany, when the latter sought to take advantage of the family quarrel, manifested a feeling of kinship gratifying to the mother country,⁴⁵ and the utter horror with which Englishmen regarded war with the United States contributed to the quick subsidence of the war spirit in America.⁴⁶ The vehicle of a common language enabled the masses of both countries to understand each other, and combined with the ties of relationship⁴⁷ to play an appreciable part in the resignation of differences and to center attention on arbitration. The press of the two countries performed valuable services in reflecting the mutual desire for peace.⁴⁸ The *Times* leader on "Peace,

of any administration policy". Olney to Chamberlain, September 28, 1896, *Olney Papers*, "The feeling universally manifested in this country at the time of the President's Venezuelan message . . . was then and still is much misunderstood. . . . There is no such general and rooted hatred by Americans of the English people".

⁴⁴ Stead, "President Cleveland", in *Review of Reviews*, XIII, 32.

⁴⁵ London *Times*, January 9, 1896, p. 5, noted in comments of American papers upon the Kaiser's telegram "the old feeling of kinship with the English people had come out frankly and clearly". *Ibid.*, January 6, 1896, p. 6. *New York Times* expressed "no sympathy with those who rejoice in the troubles of Great Britain". *Ibid.*, January 10, 1896, p. 4, quotes *New York Press*: "There is one possible condition which would induce the United States to depart from their historic policy of non-intervention in European affairs—that is the concert of the great powers against England". *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, Part II (January 26, 1896), 860, Senator Wolcott of Colorado closed his speech with "I thanked God I was of the race".

⁴⁶ *Public Opinion*, XX, 107. London *Times*, December 26, 1895, p. 3, Smalley reported the war spirit had subsided.

⁴⁷ Lord Playfair and Mr. Chamberlain who had American wives began informal discussions with Bayard as the first move toward reconciliation. Bayard to Olney, January 13, 1896, in Henry James, *Richard Olney and his Public Service* (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1923), Appendix iv, p. 288.

⁴⁸ London *Times* conducted an exchange of views between Olney and Lord Salisbury through the American correspondent, Smalley, and editor Buckles from

Good-will toward men" spoke of the work of the churches for peace.⁴⁹ The protest of "Authors of England to Authors of America" against a war which would cause the literature of the two countries to be deeply scarred by the passions evoked, and which would render impossible for a long future the united action of the English-speaking race for great common ends, referred to America as "your continent" in which the United States "looks with proper jealousy upon the extension of European influence".⁵⁰ The expression of common interests called forth efforts to make a fratricidal conflict forever impossible by promoting peace-keeping machinery. The New York Bar Association urged all bar associations in English-speaking countries to unite upon a legal plan for a permanent court of arbitration.⁵¹ In England, a movement originating among religious and peace-organizations resulted in the Sion College Conference, which promoted a memorial for a permanent treaty of arbitration. In March, under the inspiration of W. T. Stead, the movement was reorganized on a national basis and was designated the Anglo-American Union.⁵² The attention of Americans was diverted to the "Cuban Armenia" at their door "athwart the line which leads to the Nicaraguan canal", where Cuban aspirations to set up an American re-

January 22 to February 21, as shown by Smalley's letters in *Olney Papers*. The *Daily Chronicle* dispatches of Editor Norman from Washington, January 3 to 10, first set forth American views to the British public. The *New York World* solicited from prominent Englishmen messages of peace as Christmas greetings to Americans. *Saturday Review*, January 11, 1896, p. 32, quotes the French publicist, Charmes, "the English press displayed real diplomatic qualities".

⁴⁹ *London Times*, December 25, 1895, p. 4. *London Spectator*, "The Preachers on the Crisis", LXXV (December 28, 1895), 921.

⁵⁰ *Saturday Review*, LXXX (December 28, 1895), 857.

⁵¹ "The Arbitration Conference", in *Outlook*, LIII (May 7, 1896). A meeting February 22, 1896, in Independence Hall in Philadelphia arranged for a great national meeting in Washington to concentrate efforts upon a permanent system of arbitration with Great Britain.

⁵² Stead, "To All English-speaking Folk", in *Review of Reviews*, XIII (February, 1896), 99; "The Anglo-American Union", in *ibid.* (April, 1896), 364-365. See also Hugh Price Hughes, "Genesis and Strength of the Arbitration Movement in England", in *Independent*, March 7, 1896, p. 609.

public indicated a weakening in the European colonial system and offered to the republic a "mission" of peace and humanity.⁵³

The pivotal position of Canada in the conflicting schemes of British imperial federation and American "continental union" in determining the future leadership of the English-speaking race was a grave consideration in Anglo-American relations. Materially, Canada seemed to have more in common with the United States, and had it chosen to join the Union to avoid war and invasion,⁵⁴ Great Britain would have been powerless to resist. The manifestation of Canadian loyalty in the crisis demonstrated the reality of imperial sentiment,⁵⁵ and furthered the movement for imperial federation as desirable in breaking up the isolation which encouraged Canadian nationalism.⁵⁶ Fear of weakening imperial prestige in Canada by arbitrating away the rights of British subjects in Guiana delayed the agreement regarding settled districts and threatened to deadlock the negotiations.⁵⁷ Some Canadian journals looked upon Lord Salisbury's acknowledgment

⁵³ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, Part II, pp. 1971-1972. Senator Lodge "The relations of this country to Spain offer no ties of gratitude or of blood, no obligations, no traditions to bind us . . . we should exercise every influence of our great country to put an end to that war, and to give to that island peace, liberty, and independence".

⁵⁴ G. M. Grant, "Canada and the Empire", in *National Review*, XXVII (July, 1896), 27, estimates the war scare had cost Canada \$3,000,000.

⁵⁵ *London Times*, January 22, 1896, p. 10. Chamberlain's speech on "Colonial Loyalty" in which he spoke of England's "splendid isolation and the solidarity of the empire". *Ibid.*, February 1, 1896, p. 10. Lord Salisbury on foreign affairs: "Our colonial brethren have sent us assurances of sympathy and support which have been of the greatest encouragement". *Ibid.*, the Chancellor of Exchequer: "If Canada was ready to fight for us, we must be ready to fight for Canada". "Colonial Loyalty", in *Saturday Review*, LXXXI (January 25, 1896), p. 91: "The solidarity of imperial sentiment has turned out to be a great fact".

⁵⁶ Lord Salisbury's speech, *op. cit.*, "Surely the lesson taught us by recent events is that all parts of the Empire must draw together. . . . We feel that something greater than formulae or statutes is forming a federation".

⁵⁷ James, *op. cit.*, Appendix iv, 242-243, White to Olney, June 17, 1896. *Ibid.*, 248, Hay to Olney, July 31, 1896.

of "Monroeism" as the "Great Betrayal of Canada".⁵⁸ The election in Canada, displacing the chief proponent of imperial federation and an imperial "zollverein" by a liberal ministry,⁵⁹ when a republican administration strongly expansionist⁶⁰ was imminent in the United States, exerted an influence in promoting the settlement by convincing Great Britain of the wisdom of removing the Venezuelan question from the impending campaign.⁶¹ Another dose of "McKinleyism" induced the liberal government to adopt a policy of imperial preference in favor of British trade,⁶² and demonstrated that the republic had failed again to win the support of its northern neighbor.

⁵⁸ George Blackstock, "Canada and the Venezuelan Settlement", in *Canadian Magazine*, VIII (December, 1896), 174, gives the nationalist viewpoint. John Charlton, under same title gives a liberal reply in *ibid.* (January, 1897), 260. Professor David Mills, "New Monroe Doctrine of Cleveland and Olney", in *ibid.*, VI (February, 1896), 380, objects to the "footing of inferiority" in which Canada is placed.

⁵⁹ Sir Charles Tupper was defeated on June 23, 1896, by the French-Canadian, Sir Wilfred Laurier, reputed favorable to America.

⁶⁰ *American Review of Reviews*, XIV, 8. Shaw's summary of the Republican platform at St. Louis: "Hawaiian islands should be controlled by the United States. Nicaraguan canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States. American citizens and property in Armenia and Turkey must be protected at any cost. United States has right in re-assertion of the Monroe Doctrine to respond to appeals of American states for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of European powers from this hemisphere and to the ultimate union of the English-speaking race on this continent. We should restore peace and give independence to Cuba".

⁶¹ Smalley to Olney, June 10, 1896, *Olney Papers*, "Sorry to hear so bad an account of Venezuelan matters . . . my notion is that they want to deal with a new government—if they do, I fancy St. Louis will sicken them". Robert B. Mowat, *Life of Lord Pauncefote* (London, Constable & Co., 1929), p. 124, cites Salisbury to Pauncefote, June 23, 1896, asking him to secure consent of the United States to the very unusual procedure of placing the correspondence pertaining to the unfinished negotiations before parliament and the public, looking to the guidance of public opinion in subsequent negotiations as Lord Salisbury states in *Great Britain Parliamentary Debates*, 4th Series, XLIII (July 17, 1896), pp. 2-6.

⁶² Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 1897, pp. 1110, 1131-1132. The occasion inspired the imperial poet Kipling to write "Our Lady of the Snows", published in *London Times*, April 27, 1897.

The Hispanic American republics, viewed as a Mecca of trade and capital in these lean depression years, regarded the intervention of the United States and the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the Venezuelan dispute with general favor, centering attention upon Cleveland's message rather than upon the Olney Doctrine.⁶³ The manifestation of approval gave prestige to the Monroe Doctrine and seemed to further the Pan American movement revived by Blaine.⁶⁴ President Díaz in a message to the Mexican congress in April, 1896, suggested that each of the American republics should proclaim a declaration similar to that of Monroe.⁶⁵ Senator Allen proposed a resolution suggesting that the United States invite all American republics to enter into a closer union to be known as the Pan American Union.⁶⁶ The attitude displayed by certain South American states⁶⁷ probably contributed to the British disavowal of a "forward policy" on the American continents⁶⁸ and to the respect which British statesmen professed for the Monroe Doctrine.⁶⁹

How far British policy was influenced by the action of

⁶³ W. S. Robertson, "Hispanic American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine", in *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III, 1-16. *Cong. Record*, XXVIII (December 21, 1895), 276, a resolution of congratulation on Cleveland's message by the Brazilian congress. *Public Opinion*, XX (February 13, 1896), 203, quotes *Mexican Herald*, "There is no mistaking the unanimity and the earnestness of the press of South America regarding the Venezuelan message of Cleveland".

⁶⁴ *New York Times*, December 29, 1895, p. 6. Speech of Whitelaw Reid, "This ought to give the crown to Mr. Blaine's splendid work in the Pan American Congress and the reciprocity treaties. . . . This is the golden opportunity of our merchants to extend our trade to every quarter of Central and South America".

⁶⁵ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, Part I, 294.

⁶⁷ *Foreign Relations*, 1895, I, 63. July, 1895, a British force occupied Trinidad over the protests of Brazil, which refused the British proposal of arbitration looking to the United States to champion her cause, in *ibid.*, 69. *New York Times*, January 22, 1896, Argentina renewed claim to the Falkland Islands, seized over its protest about sixty years before and made common cause with Brazil by canceling a concession to the British Cable Company.

⁶⁸ *London Times*, January 16, 1896, p. 10, Balfour's speech.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, and *ibid.*, February 1, 1896, p. 10. Lord Salisbury: "We are entire advocates of the Monroe Doctrine as Monroe understood it, and you will not find any more convinced supporters of it than we are".

Germany⁷⁰ is an interesting problem. Lord Salisbury's efforts to come to an understanding with Germany regarding the eventual collapse of Turkey seem to mark the first step of the British Government toward a closer understanding with Germany and the Triple Alliance.⁷¹ The Berlin correspondent of the London *Times* reported that the purpose of the Kaiser in his telegram to Krueger was to show England that its salvation lay in alliance with Germany.⁷² The hostile British popular reaction to the "rash telegram", in marked contrast to the friendly protestations called forth by the "amazing message" of President Cleveland,⁷³ and the sympathetic attitude of the American press toward British resentment of German dictation, seemed instead to point the way to Anglo-American coöperation and to more favorable consideration of an American declaration which would prevent German "progress" in South America.⁷⁴ The anonymous British author of "A Biological View of Our Foreign Policy"⁷⁵ deduced that the first great racial struggle of the

⁷⁰ "Self-compensating Perils", in *Spectator*, January 11, 1896, p. 43. "Allies and Foes of Great Britain", in *ibid.*, January 18, 1896, p. 73. "The jack-boot policy of the German Emperor is forcing Englishmen to consider the question of alliances. . . . A month ago half England would have replied that Germany would be the friend, but William II has for this generation rendered that solution impossible".

⁷¹ *Die Grosse Politik*, X, Doc. 2371-2372. See also, Johnson and Bickford, "Contemplated Anglo-German Alliance 1890-1901", in *Political Science Quarterly*, XLII (March, 1927), 10.

⁷² *London Times*, January 6, 1896.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 8. Letter to editor: "Does not the blood of every Englishman boil at reading the message from the chief of a friendly nation and a grandson of our Queen under the circumstances of time and place . . . that such a moment should be chosen for such an insult". *Saturday Review*, LXXX (December 28, 1895), 857, satirically stated: "The British middle class press behaved even more foolishly than the preachers in fervent protestations of friendship and utter abasement and considering the temptation (Cleveland's message) that was hardly to be expected".

⁷⁴ "A Forgotten View of the Monroe Doctrine", in *Spectator*, December 21, 1895, p. 888. "There is not a doubt that . . . were Germany free to invade Brazil, to coerce Brazil, southern Brazil would become a German dependency as would also Peru. . . . This immense progress is prohibited by the Monroe Doctrine".

⁷⁵ *Saturday Review*, LXXXI (February 1, 1896), 118-119. The writer sets forth two biological propositions that conflict is most imminent and most deadly

future was with Germany.⁷⁶ The United States would be the enemy but for the fact that it was not a nation expanding beyond its own territory; the Monroe Doctrine was the obvious provision looking toward the expansion that soon must come.⁷⁷ British statesmen, in accord with their endeavor to stand aloof from European affairs, became convinced advocates of a doctrine which seemed to offer a basis of agreement for the revived hopes of an Anglo-American alliance. The isolation of Great Britain was a serious consideration.⁷⁸ Lord Salisbury's proposal of a conference of European powers having colonies in America to proclaim the Monroe Doctrine as international law between them as the first move toward adjustment of the Venezuelan question,⁷⁹ and his proposal to negotiate a general arbitration treaty with the United States,⁸⁰ may be regarded as grasping the opportunity to further Anglo-American amity in response to the pressure of British public opinion. British acceptance and support of the two main contentions of the United States—arbitration and the Monroe Doctrine—would seem to provide common interests for united action.

In a series of personal conversations which Pauncefoot wrote out from memory and reported to the foreign office, the problems of the settled districts and of a general arbitration

between species (1) that are most similar and (2) that are expanding most rapidly.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* "In racial characteristics, in religious and scientific thought, in sentiment and aptitudes, the Germans by their resemblances to us English are marked out as our natural rivals".

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* The writer concludes: "(1) Federate our colonies and prevent geographical isolation turning the Anglo-Saxon race against itself. (2) Be ready to fight Germany. (3) Be ready to fight America when the time comes".

⁷⁸ Bayard to Cleveland, March 10, 1896, *Cleveland Papers*. "Lord Salisbury adverted to the isolation of Great Britain and their consequent reluctance to place their interests in the control of unfriendly parties. The desire of this government to avoid the employment of an European arbiter at this time will have great weight in inducing them to come to an agreement with the United States alone". James R. Roosevelt to Olney, March 4, 1896, *Olney Papers*. "Chamberlain said what they did object to was the calling in of a 'foreigner'".

⁷⁹ James, *op. cit.*, Appendix iv, p. 288. Olney promptly declined.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-258. March 5, 1896.

agreement were canvassed by Olney and Pauncefoot, both lawyers serving for the first time in a diplomatic office.⁸¹ The suggestion of Olney that the precedent made in the Geneva Arbitration of the Alabama Claims be followed, solved the actual settlements difficulty.⁸² At Olney's request, Henry White, an eminent republican diplomatist with an intimate acquaintance among English statesmen, aided the negotiations by informally interpreting the American position to important members of the British government.⁸³ White explained that, in view of the national feeling on the subject, no successor of Cleveland could modify his position in any material respect. While final negotiations were in progress, the Venezuelan government made certain proposals for direct settlement with Great Britain which were rejected by Lord Salisbury.⁸⁴ This preference of Great Britain to negotiate with the United States signified a sense of solidarity between the two nations which it was desired to strengthen, and a willingness to recognize the rights of overlordship asserted by the United States over the neighbor republics. The *London Times* regarded the settlement as a concession by Great Britain of the most far-reaching kind:

It admits the principle that in respects of South American Republics, the United States may not only intervene in disputes but may entirely supersede the original disputant and assume control of the negotiations. Great Britain cannot bind any other nation by her action in this matter, but she has set up a precedent which may in the future be quoted with great effect against herself, and she has strengthened the hands of the United States Government in any dispute that may arise in the future between a South American Republic and an European Power in which the United States may desire to intervene.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Mowat, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁸² Olney to Dana, September 19, 1910. *Olney Papers*.

⁸³ Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, Harpers, 1930), p. 112. White to Olney, June 17, 1896, in James, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-244.

⁸⁴ Mowat, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁸⁵ *London Times*, November 11, 1896, p. 6. Sidney Low, "The Olney Doctrine and America's New Foreign Policy", in *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1896, p. 852, quotes from *Cologne Gazette* what was considered to be the view of the

The failure of the United States to ratify the Anglo-American arbitration treaty⁸⁶ following a successful crusade for arbitration of the boundary dispute, revealed the strength of the traditional policy against foreign entanglements and an unwillingness to submit to arbitration any question which might involve the Monroe Doctrine or the Bulwer-Clayton treaty.⁸⁷ Viewed as the beginning of something like an alliance between the two powers in support of the Monroe Doctrine, the treaty was distasteful to those who regarded as purely American the doctrine that American questions are for American decision. Senator Lodge, who had made himself chief custodian of the doctrine, suggested a resolution excluding it from any relation to the treaty.⁸⁸ The *Chicago Tribune* had declared "that doctrine is not for arbitration and never shall be".⁸⁹ Resolutions attempting to define what constituted all possible infringements of the Monroe Doctrine were introduced in Congress,⁹⁰ but definition was abandoned, and, as in the case of the arbitration treaty and the senate amendments limiting its application,⁹¹ it was thought best to keep the United States free to act as the occasion demanded.⁹²

German Foreign Office that the precedent established by England is in no way an European precedent, and Germany will never tolerate the intervention of a foreign state in the protection of its interests in South and Central America.

⁸⁶ *Public Opinion*, XXI (May 27, 1897), gives an analysis of vote. White to Olney, May 27, 1897, *Olney Papers*, "It is better from the point of view of good feeling between the two countries that the treaty should have failed to pass the Senate than rejected upon its return here in a more or less mutilated condition, which might have aroused protests and ill-feeling on our side of the water".

⁸⁷ *Cong. Record*, XXIX, Part II, 1046. Senator Lodge feared questions of national policy like the Monroe Doctrine or the Clayton-Bulwer treaty were involved. Senator Sewell feared the arbitration of our rights in the Nicaraguan canal were "concealed" in it.

⁸⁸ *London Times*, January 21, 1897, reported by Smalley.

⁸⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, January 11, 1896.

⁹⁰ *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, by Senator Cullom, p. 25; Baker, p. 529; Davis, p. 783.

⁹¹ *Senate Document*, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., XIV, 278.

⁹² *Cong. Record*, XXVIII, p. 1555. The message of the president, supported by the unanimous vote of both houses of congress and by the unanimous sentiment of the country was regarded as sufficient notice to every European power that the Monroe Doctrine was a fixed principle of this government.

The corollary of the Monroe Doctrine relating to American non-intervention in European affairs was reaffirmed also by Olney, accompanied with a suggestion of American naval power. Encouraged possibly by the resolution of congress regarding the Turkish outrages in Armenia,⁹³ and the prospect of agreement in the Venezuelan dispute, Chamberlain, then in America, ventured to ask Olney's confidential opinion as to what reception would be given a proposition tending to coöperation in Turkey.⁹⁴ Olney replied that

. . . even so righteous a cause to be championed jointly with so great and prized an ally, would not and probably ought not to make any change in the traditional and settled policy of this country.⁹⁵

He indicated that indirect aid and support might be given through the vigorous protection of the rights of American citizens, to which purpose was to be attributed the "recent increase of our navy, an increase which is likely to go on indefinitely". Rejecting any step in the direction of Anglo-American coöperation and racial unity, American nationalism bulwarked itself behind the Monroe Doctrine to work out a "manifest destiny" free from entangling alliance by maintaining the territorial integrity of American republics against European encroachment and conquest and by promoting the settlement of American disputes by arbitration in an attempt to eliminate the European system of militarism from the new world.

The discussion aroused by the Venezuelan controversy and the arbitration negotiations offered an occasion for an outburst of Anglophobia.⁹⁶ It demonstrated the strength of

⁹³ *Ibid.* (January 22, 1896), p. 854.

⁹⁴ Chamberlain to Olney, September 19, 1896, *Olney Papers*.

⁹⁵ Olney to Chamberlain, September 28, 1896, *ibid.*

⁹⁶ G. B. Adams, "Why Americans dislike England", in *Independent*, XLVIII (January 2, 1896); Andrew Carnegie, "Does America hate England?" in *Contemporary Review*, LXXII (November, 1897); R. I. Curtis, "Hostility to England", in *Independent*, XLVIII (April 23, 1896); E. L. Godkin, "American Hatred of England", *Nation*, LXII (January, 1896); Goldwin Smith, "American Anglophobia", in *Saturday Review*, LXXXI (February 22, 1896); D. D.

the traditional policy of American political isolation from the old world, reënforced by a protective commercial system, evolving into a scheme of Pan American union of republican states, looking upon the remnants of the European colonial system as transitory, and regarding American control of an Isthmian canal as an essential link in the American system. It also revealed the intangible ties and material interests tending to draw the two great English-speaking nations together.⁹⁷ Beset by European dangers and confronted by the continental pretensions of their lusty offspring, British imperialists, invoking the spirit of Burke, pleaded that old controversies be forgotten and that the English and the American branches of the Anglo-Saxon race should work together, each in its own sphere, for the propagation of Anglo-Saxon ideas of liberty, government, and order.⁹⁸

Assessing the effect of the dispute upon Anglo-American relations in the light of subsequent history, we may agree with Mr. Olney's statement in a Harvard address in 1898 in which he reflected upon the Venezuelan affair:

There is a patriotism of race as well as of country—and the Anglo-American is as little likely to be indifferent to the one as to the other. Family quarrels there have been heretofore and doubtless will be again, and the two peoples at the safe distance which the broad Atlantic interposes, take with each other liberties of speech which

Wayland, "American Soreness", in *Independent*, XLVIII (March 19, 1896); "Why Americans dislike England", in *Spectator*, LXXVI (January 25, 1896).

⁹⁷ George B. Adams, "The United States and Anglo-Saxon Future", in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII (July, 1896), 40-42; Edward Atkinson, "Cost of an Anglo-American War", in *Forum*, XXI (March, 1896), 94; David A. Wells, "The United States and Great Britain: Their True Relations", in *North American Review*, CLXII (April, 1896), 404-405; Mayo W. Hazeltine, "The United States and Great Britain: A Reply to Mr. Wells", in *ibid.* (May, 1896), pp. 594-606; Walter Besant, "The Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race", in *ibid.* (August, 1896), p. 138; Prof. A. V. Dicey, "A Common Citizenship for the English Race", in *Contemporary Review*, LXXXI (April, 1897), 467-469; "Tie that Binds", in *Dial*, XX (May, 1896), 259; Dr. Sidney Sherwood, "An Alliance with England the Basis of a Rational Foreign Policy", in *Forum*, XXX (March, 1896), 94-99.

⁹⁸ London *Times*, February 4, 1896, p. 7. Balfour's speech.

only the fondest and dearest of relatives indulge in. Nevertheless, that they would be found standing together against any alien foe by whom either was menaced by destruction or irreparable calamity, it is not permissible to doubt. Nothing less could be expected of the close community between them in origin, speech, thought, literature, institutions, ideals—in the kind and degree of the civilization enjoyed by both.⁹⁹

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⁹⁹ Richard Olney, "International Isolation of the United States", in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI (May, 1898), 588.

DOCUMENTS

JORGE JUAN AND ANTONIO DE ULLOA'S PROLOGUE TO THEIR SECRET REPORT OF 1749 ON PERU

The document printed below is Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa's own prologue to their secret report on the viceroyalty of Peru, which they wrote either in 1748 or, more probably, in 1749, and which David Barry published at London in 1826 under the title *Noticias Secretas de América*. Barry suppressed¹ this prologue and only a small fragment of it has heretofore been published. By suppressing it and by substituting for it a prologue which was avowedly of his own composition but which was unavowedly of a very different tenor from the original, Barry was at least partly responsible for some of the rather serious misunderstandings that have grown up about the report and his own published version of it. It is hoped that the publication of the original prologue in its entirety will clear up some of these misunderstandings. For instance, both the assailants and the defenders of Juan and Ulloa's report have often proceeded on the assumption that they designed it as a complete and well balanced account of the colonial régime in Peru; but in this prologue they state that the report describes only the evils and abuses of that régime. Again, it has recently been suggested that the *Noticias Secretas* belongs in the category of "snappy stuff" which, in the eighteenth century, it was fashionable to write about Spanish blundering in America; but it is difficult to see how anyone could hold this view after reading the prologue below. For a detailed discussion of these and other related

¹ The first paragraph of Chap. I, Part II, of the *Noticias Secretas* does not occur in the corresponding chapter of the manuscript report (described below, note 3); on the other hand, a large part of the paragraph is obviously a condensation of several passages in the original prologue. As the reader can see for himself, the resemblance between the two is too close to be accidental. This would seem to show not only that Barry wrote and inserted the paragraph in question but also that when he wrote it he had the authors' prologue before him—in other words, that he omitted their prologue from the *Noticias Secretas* not because it was missing from his manuscript but because he chose to suppress it. The parts of it that he paraphrased suited his purpose; the prologue as a whole did not.

questions, the reader is referred to an article soon to be published in another place.²

In reproducing this prologue, I have followed the text of the eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the report preserved in the Manuscript Room of the New York Public Library.³ When that library acquired the manuscript in 1926, it was thought that it might be the original report written by Juan and Ulloa in 1749; but that this belief or conjecture was not well founded is shown by two letters which are bound in with the manuscript and explain how it came into existence. These are: (1) a copy of a letter from Pedro Aparici, "Oficial de la Secretaria de Estado, y del Despacho Unibersal de Yndias", to Fernando Senrra, "Oficial Segundo de la Secretaria del Despacho Unibersal de Marina", dated March 16, 1767; and (2) an original letter, in reply to the preceding, from Fernando de Senrra to Pedro Aparici, dated March 30, 1767.⁴ These two letters, together with the title page, which bears the inscription, "Para el uso de Don Pedro Aparici", prove beyond reasonable doubt that the New York Public Library Manuscript is only a copy of Juan and Ulloa's secret report on Peru, that it was made in 1767 by Pedro Aparici for his own use, and that it was made from a document furnished him by Fernando de Senrra.

The fact that Aparici's copy of Juan and Ulloa's secret report was made from a document furnished him by Senrra is important, for it strengthens the case for the authenticity of that report (and

² The discussion in question is contained in a paper, "Some Remarks on the *Noticias Secretas de América*", which I read at the first Annual Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association at Washington, D. C., February 18-19, 1938, and which will be published shortly in the *Proceedings* of that Association.

³ This manuscript is in two bound volumes. The title page reads in part as follows: "Discursos, y reflexiones politicas, sobre el estado presente de los reynos del Perú . . . Escrito por Don Jorge Juan y Don Antonio de Ulloa . . . Año de 1749. Para el uso de Don Pedro Aparici, oficial de la Secretaria de Estado, y del Despacho Unibersal de Yndias". Pasted on the fly-leaf of Vol. I is a letter signed by Philip Ainsworth Means, dated December 28, 1925, which contains a statement of his opinion regarding the character of the manuscript. His opinion is different from the one I have expressed in the present communication.

⁴ The copy of the letter of March 16, 1767, from Aparici to Senrra is bound in Vol. I between the title page of this volume and the table of contents. The letter of March 30, 1767, from Senrra to Aparici, is bound in Vol. II between the title page and folio 1.

therefore of the *Noticias Secretas*) and it also gives additional reason for believing that the manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and recently described in this REVIEW⁵ is either the original secret report made by Jorge Juan and Ulloa to the Marqués de la Ensenada in 1749, or else a faithful copy of the original report and the earliest copy known to exist. The Biblioteca Nacional Manuscript bears an endorsement signed "Senrra", with his rubric, and it is therefore highly probably that this is the manuscript that Senrra lent Aparici in 1767 and from which Aparici made the copy now owned by the New York Public Library. When it is recalled that Senrra and Aparici were officials in the navy and colonial departments, that both Juan and Ulloa were officers in the Spanish navy, and that in 1767 both of them were still in active service (Juan in Spain, Ulloa as governor of Louisiana), it seems reasonable to believe that the Senrra Manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional is, if not the original report, at least a faithful copy of it; for both Senrra and Aparici, who obviously took a serious interest in the report, had ample opportunity to assure themselves that the Senrra Manuscript was authentic. Since there are no important differences between the latter and the text published by Barry in the *Noticias Secretas*,⁶ the

⁵ XV (1935), 173, n. 42.

⁶ After a careful comparison of the two, I am satisfied that there are no important differences between the New York Public Library Manuscript and the corresponding chapters of the *Noticias Secretas* (1826), in the sense that they contain the same statements of fact and opinion and that these are presented, within each chapter, in the same order—in other words, that Barry did not increase, any more than he diminished, the severity of the indictment as it was drawn up by Jorge Juan and Ulloa. This does not apply to the original prologue, which he suppressed, or to the original title, which he altered. Both of these points are discussed elsewhere. Nor does it apply to chaps. I-VI of Part I of the *Noticias Secretas*, which do not occur in this manuscript; but it is important to observe that these chapters deal for the most part with matters of transient interest, such as the military and naval defenses of Peru and that they do not make any material addition to the indictment of the Spanish régime in Peru. That indictment is contained in the remaining chapters of the *Noticias Secretas*, which deal with such matters as contraband trade, oppression of the Indians, disorders among the clergy, insubordination among the colonists, and corruption among the colonial officials—in other words, the chapters which have provoked most if not all the attacks on the authenticity and the reliability of the *Noticias Secretas*; and here I am satisfied that the book is substantially identical with the manuscript. This opinion is based mainly upon a word-for-word comparison of twenty-four passages in the *Noticias Secretas* with the corresponding passages in the manuscript. These passages are the beginning and

facts here stated give historians additional reason for regarding the *Noticias Secretas* as a substantially accurate version of the secret report of 1749 on Peru.

Consequently, while the manuscript in the New York Public Library is not the original but merely a copy of the secret report, it is a very valuable copy. It does not settle the question whether the Biblioteca Nacional Manuscript is itself the original report or only a copy of it; but it does give us further assurance that that manuscript contains the text of the report as Jorge Juan and Ulloa wrote it. Furthermore, the New York Public Library Manuscript seems to be a faithful copy of the Biblioteca Nacional Manuscript,⁷ so that, even if the latter, together with the other manuscript versions

end of each chapter, each passage comprising from one to four paragraphs and consisting of from 300 to 1,200 words—about 10,000 words in all, at a moderate estimate. This should be regarded as a fair test, especially since some of these passages contain matter highly discreditable to the Spanish colonial régime and are consequently among those in which interpolations by Barry might most naturally have been suspected. The only interpolation of any importance that I found is the one described above in note 1. Barry made many changes in the phrasing, but these do not heighten the effect and were apparently made, not in order to change the meaning, but to make it clearer; that is, their effect, and presumably their purpose, was to modernize and otherwise improve Juan and Ulloa's Spanish. As a specimen, the reader can compare the following passage, taken from the manuscript (Vol. I, fol. 137) with the corresponding passage in the *Noticias Secretas* (p. 231): "Nace la tirania que experimentan los Yndios, de la insaciable hambre de riquezas que llevan á las Yndias los que van á gobernarlas, y como estos no tengan otro arbitrio para conseguirlo, qe. el de hostilizar á los Yndios de quantos modos puede subministrarles la malicia, no dejan ninguno por plantificar, y combatiendolo[s] por todas partes con crueldad exigen de ellos mas que lo que pudieran sacar de los propios esclavos". What need had Barry to add anything to this?

⁷ With regard to the prologue, this statement is based upon a comparison of passages from the beginning, middle, and end, totaling some 275 words, which I copied from the Biblioteca Nacional Manuscript in 1933, with the corresponding passages in the New York Public Library Manuscript. This comparison showed that, save for occasional differences in punctuation and spelling and the substitution of "capítulos" for "sesiones" and two slight verbal changes ("excesos inevitables de los subditos" for "excesos inevitables en los subditos", and "del castigo, se dejan" for "del castigo, se dexa") the New York Public Library Manuscript is in these passages an exact copy of the Biblioteca Nacional Manuscript. With regard to the body of the report, I was unable to make a similar comparison, but the notes that I took in 1933 show that the two manuscripts contain the same number of chapters (twelve) and that these chapters are arranged in the same order and discuss the same subjects.

of the report preserved in Madrid, should be lost or destroyed in the course of the civil war now going on in Spain, historians would still have the text of the report as it was written by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa and not merely as it was edited by David Barry, who undertook to improve the authors' Spanish (he was a contemporary of Jared Sparks). It is highly desirable that the report should be published in its pristine impurity; but that will not be possible for some time to come, and in the meanwhile the greatest deficiency of the *Noticias Secretas* will be remedied by the publication of the authors' own prologue, which Barry suppressed.

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[p. 1] PROLOGO

Entre los grandes cuidados de que sin duda està rodeada la Soberania del Trono, y el desvelado oficio de reynar, ocupan el mas superior lugar los dos importantes, quanto incomparables bienes de la eterna salud, y de la humana sociedad de los Subditos, como que en ellos està cifradas las dos mas principales atenciones de los Principes, la Religion, y la Justicia, a las quales, y a los medios de su conservacion deben dirigirse sus Paternales anhelos, y sus mas piadosas solicitudes: Objetos uno, y otro, que siendolo de la Christiana Politica, se hacen dignos acreedores de que en ellos se deposite continuam[en]te. la consideracion, y que a su mejor logro conspiren con anticipada, y prompta providencia quantas lineas tire esta sabia ciencia, y que, o ya previendo los obstaculos que se pueden en lo sucesivo [p. 2] originar contra ellos, les aplique preservativo, con que se evite el caso de que existan, o ya conociendo los daños sucedidos, procure poner en ellos el remedio conveniente, para que asi se restituyan las cosas al estado en que segun todas reglas de razon, y Justicia debieran haberse conservado sin intermision.

Los Payses de las Yndias, abundantes, ricos, y florecientes, y por tanto expuestos tambien a la delicadez, y al luxo; distantes de su Principe, y de sus Superiores Ministros, gobernados por Personas que muchas veces no atienden à otros intereses, que à los suyos en particular, y al pres[en]te. conducidos à tal estado, por la duracion, y demasiado arraigam[ien]to. del mal, que ni la Justicia se halla con la suficiente authoridad, ni la razon con poder para hacer contra-resto alguno al desorden, y al vicio; no es [p. 3] mucho que por consig[uien]te. experimenten abusos introducidos en todo el estado de la Rep[ubli]ca. daños en la inobservancia de las Leyes, ó en la novedad de poco justas costumbres: excesos en la conducta de los Ministros, y Poderosos, con grave detrimento de los flacos, y de los desvalidos, escandalos en la vista licenciosa de todos, y un casi continuo, y general desvio de lo recto, y de lo que en los bien ordenados estados se anela, y se solicita: Ni es mucho, que faltando el buen exemplo en los unos, y comunicándose insensiblem[en]te. el daño à los otros, ò todos queden infectos de este, ò resten pocos exemptos, para poder por si restablecer las cosas al ser, en que debian estar.

La noticia de todo esto, que no puede conservarse absolutam[en]te. oculta por mas que la disminuya la distancia, obligò sin duda à que [p. 4] entre los demas encargos que se pusieron à n[uest]ro. cuidado quando pasamos à los Reynos del Perú, fuese uno, el de adquirir con exactitud, y la mas posible prolixidad, y atencion, todo lo que pareciese digno de ella a cerca del Gobierno, Admin[istraci]on. de Justicia, costumbres, y estados de aquellos Reynos, con todo lo tocante à su civil economia Militar, y Politica: asi lo procuramos executar el tiempo qe. nos mantuvimos allà, arreglándonos puntualm[en]te. à los Capítulos de n[uest]ra. Ynstruccion, tomando los informes de las Personas mas desinteresadas, inteligentes, y rectas en aquellas cosas que por n[uest]ra. propia experiencia no podiamos averiguar, indagando por todas partes con atenta, quanto prolixa seguridad, lo que podia de algun modo conducir à n[uest]ro. assumpto, y procurando asegurar siempre el concepto con la calificacion de [p. 5] las noticias, y la repeticion, ò examen de los sucesos; de modo, que en todo hemos llevado la mira de proceder libres, quanto ser pudiese de preocupacion, ò de interes, para excusar el riesgo de quedar expuestos al error, ò à la falsedad; escollos de que continuam[en]te. hemos procurado estar distantes, ò al menos apartarnos à fuer[z]a de la diligencia, y de la precaucion: Nuestro pr[incip]al. objeto ha sido el de inquirir solo la verdad, y al pres[en]te. el de proponerla descubiertam[en]te. à los ojos de los Superiores Ministros, con el fin de que sabidos los males que allà se padecen, pueda aplicarseles el conveniente remedio, que dicte la providencia, y proporcionarse con el tiempo, la ocurrencia de las ocasiones.

En atencion à esto, y à que el Publico no puede tener interes en ser instruido de noticias, qe. [p. 6] al paso que no le pueden inducir bien alguno, causarian à los naturales de aquellas partes en comun, un disfame, que de ningun modo se podria justificar: Se nos ordenò por el S[eñ]or. Marq[ui]s. de la Ensenada, que atendiendo n[uest]ra. obra en la parte que se hubiese de publicar, todas aquellas cosas utiles al comun de las Gentes en lo tocante à Historia Natural, Moral, y Politica en general, quedasen reservados los particulares assumptos, qe. contendrà este tratado para secreta instruccion de los Ministros, y de aquellos que habian de saberlas, no para hacer divertim[ien]to. el ageno daño, o para que fuese objeto de la detraction, lo que debe serlo de cuidado, y de la commiseracion, sino antes bien para cuidar incesantem[en]te. de los medios con que se llegue al tan deseado fin de reformar, y mejorar del todo aquellos Payses, colocar en su debido trono [p. 7] en ellos la Religion, y la Justicia, hacer que sientan todos aquellos Vasallos, aun desde tanta distancia, los venebolos influjos, y vital calor con qe. la sabia Politica de n[uest]ros Reyes los atiende, y veneficia; y finalm[en]te. perfeccionar el mejor Gobierno, y la mas recta Admin[istraci]on. de aquellos Subditos, para que con las providencias acertadas, y la rectitud de tales fines, se extingan los abusos, y se disipen enteram[en]te. aquellos viciosos establecim[ien]tos. que suelen ser de perniciosas consecuencias à los estados, y à veces los instrumentos con qe. se fabrica su ruina, ò su deterioracion.

Estas materias reservadas, son las que contiene la pres[en]te. obra dividida en 12 Capítulos con la prevencion de haber de quedar su noticia para el solo fin que va expresado, debiéndose temer de lo contrario, sucediesen con su divulgaz[i]on [p. 8] los daños, que con las representaciones del Obispo de Chiapa [Bartolomé de las Casas], que tanto descredito han causado para con los Extran-

geros, al comun de toda la Nacion Española, quando los excesos inevitables de los Subditos, y mas quando estan distantes de sus Principes, los hacen, y creen generales, y característicos à todos los demas: En esta suposicion, no se podrá hacer extraño lo irregular de algunos casos que se referiràn, y pareceràn a primera vista increíbles, si echos cargo de à quanto pueda estenderse la humana malicia, quando lejos de lo que suele mas contenerla; esto es el temor de las Leyes, y el miedo del castigo, se dejan llevar del desenfrenado impetu de las pasiones, o si reflexionando sobre los principios del desorden, que quedan apuntados, se detuviere un poco la consideracion à expecular, que efectos no seran [p. 9] capaces de producir en aquellos Payses el demasiado anhelo de interes, y codicia de que la mayor parte de sus habitantes se hallan poseidos: la libertad, y licencioso modo de vida, y la casi ninguna sujecion à Magistrados, ò Leyes; debajo de cuyos supuestos, nada se podrá hacer difícil del asenso, ni repugnante à la mas escrupulosa y detenida credulidad: Este, pues, es el unico fin, estos los fundam[en]tos. y principios sobre que se ha escrito, y este será el deseo que mas unicam[en]te. nos ha impelido à disponerla, solicitando en ella el mayor bien de aquellos Pueblos, à que quedamos deudores por el beneficio de tantos años de n[uest]ra. havitacion, y à quienes procuramos satisfacer con esta solicitud el mejor servicio de n[uest]ro. Principe, y desempeño de su R[ea]l. confianza, y el mayor ensalce de la Relig[i]on. que tanto se hallan interesados en el [p. 10] asunto del presente trabajo.

TWO UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS OF HERNÁN CORTÉS AND NEW SPAIN, 1519 AND 1524

Although a relatively large volume of documents concerning New Spain during the period of discovery, conquest, and initial colonization has been published, further papers of prime importance continue to appear as a result of archival investigation. The two documents herewith presented, the first from the Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, and the second from the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico, illustrate this situation and are of value to those whose interests lie in the origins of Spanish colonization on the mainland of North America.

I

Exceedingly few documents originated in Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz during the brief, but critical, period between the establishment of the town and the departure of the Spaniards for the interior, following the momentous decision of Cortés to undertake the conquest of the Aztec Empire. The documents which have been preserved are consequently all the more important.

The despatch of the *Justicia* and *Regimiento* of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz to the crown, dated July 10, 1519, as is well known, has been preserved in an authenticated copy in the National Library of Vienna and has been published by Gayangos and others.¹ The inventory of the first store of treasure sent to the crown from New Spain exists among the documents of the Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, and has likewise been published by Gayangos.² The first Cortés *carta de relación*, however, has been lost, as has the letter to the crown drawn up by the Cabildo of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, the captains, and the soldiers of the party of Cortés, as opposed to those who maintained allegiance to Velázquez. The burden of these latter despatches, notwithstanding, has fortunately been preserved through the writings of López de Gómara, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Las Casas, Andrés de Tapia, and Herrera.³

¹ Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento de la Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz á la Reina doña Juana y al Emperador Carlos V, su hijo, July 10, 1519, Pascual de Gayangos, *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernán Cortés al Emperador Carlos V* (Paris, 1866), pp. 1-28.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-34.

³ The content of the first Cortés *carta de relación* is outlined in Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de México, con el Descubrimiento de la Nueva España*,

These documents were borne to Spain by Francisco de Montejo, later adelantado of Yucatán, and Alonso Hernández de Puerto Carrero, as *procuradores* of the captain general and of the municipal government of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz before the crown.

In addition, the representatives, in their dual capacity, carried to Spain other official documents of primary importance. These documents consisted of certain "autos . . . de lo pasado" drawn up by Cortés,⁴ *poderes* and instructions from the *Justicia* and *Regimiento* of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and from Cortés to the *procuradores* to empower and guide them in their mission, and instructions from Cortés to his father, Martín Cortés de Monroy, whom the former designated as a representative.

The general contents of the instructions of Cortés to the *procuradores* and to his father are made known through documents in the Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla and through the history of Herrera⁵ The documents concerned have been published by Mariano Cuevas,⁶ and in the first series of the *Documentos inéditos . . . de Indias*.⁷ The *autos* drawn up by Cortés have disappeared.

conquistada por el muy ilustre y valeroso Príncipe don Fernando Cortés (Anvers, 1554), ff. 62v.-63v., and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Indias i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1601-1615), dec. ii, lib. v, cap. xiii. This letter is mentioned, also, in Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (México, 1904, 2 vols.), cap. liii. The burden of the despatch of the Cabildo of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, the captains, and the soldiers of the Cortés party, which as a body may be considered to have constituted the *concejo* of the newly founded town, is found in the account of Andrés de Tapia, *Relación hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tapia sobre la Conquista de México*, published in Joaquín García de Icazbalceta, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México* (México, 1858-1866, 2 vols.), Tomo II, 565-566, in Gómara, *op. cit.*, ff. 63-63v., Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia General de las Indias* (Madrid, M. Aguilar, n. d., 3 vols.), lib. iii, cap. exxiii, Díaz del Castillo, cap. liiii, and Herrera, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Gómara, *op. cit.*, f. 62v.

⁵ Herrera, dec. ii, lib. ix, cap. vii.

⁶ Memorial presentado al Real Consejo por Don Martín Cortés de Monroy, Padre de Hernán Cortés, en nombre de su Hijo (Presentado por Marzo de 1520), Mariano Cuevas, *Cartas y otras Documentos de Hernán Cortés novísimamente descubiertos en el Archivo General de Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla* (Sevilla, 1915), pp. 1-5.

⁷ Representación de los Procuradores de Yucatan en nombre de Hernán Cortés, . . . , *Colección de Documentos inéditos, relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas Posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados*

The instructions of the *Justicia* and *Regimiento* of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz to the *procuradores*, with the exception of the opening paragraph or paragraphs, exist in certified copy among the voluminous papers of the Cortés *residencia* in the Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, under title of "Ynstrucion q se dio a los procuradores q vinieron d la nueva españa en q se refiere todo sucedido en ella".⁸ These instructions are to a large degree preserved also through royal cédulas granting petitions presented by the *procuradores* in name of the municipal governments of New Spain on the basis of their instructions. The cédulas concerned are found in certified copy in *Tomo I* of the *Actas de Cabildo* of the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City, which exists in the Archivo Municipal of that capital.

The instructions of the *Justicia* and *Regimiento* of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz set forth the policies and aspirations of the municipal government of the newly-founded town, looking toward permanent colonization and future development, and, through the agency of the municipal government, the policies of Cortés. Moreover, they tend to make clear the dual rôle of the *procuradores* as representatives of the captain general and of the local government of the colony. The instructions, the date of which does not appear in the copy, although they were almost certainly drawn up in the first days of July, 1519, follow:

Ynstrucion q se dio a los pccos q venieron d la nueva españa en q se Refiere todo lo sucedido en ella.

[The opening paragraph or paragraphs are missing.]

. . . queriamos ver las quales el dho capitan fernando cortes mostro e visto por nosotros despues de se aver leydo segund lo que mejor podiamos entender parecionos como es la vdad quel dho poder e ynstrucion auia yspirado que no podia dellos ni de capitan ni justicia mas usar e visto por nosotros en el dho cabildo quel el dho fernando cortes hera persona tal qual para el dho cargo convenia muy zeloso e deseoso del servicio de sus magdts e los cargos e oficios Reales que en estas

de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias (Madrid, 1864-1884, 42 vols.), XII, 285-287.

⁸ *Residencia* qc. Luis Ponce de Leon Nuño de Guzman y los Liedos. Ortiz de Mattienzo y Delgadillo tomaron a Dn. Hernando Cortes Govor. y capitan general de la Nueva españa e a sus alcaldes mayores e thenientes e oficiales, 1526-1533, Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Justicia, Legajos, 220-225, Legajo 223. The writer feels that the *Residencia* of Cortés constitutes an inadequately exploited source for the history of the early years of Spanish activity in New Spain and that the papers involved can be utilized to great profit in that connection.

yslas a tenido y en estas partes y en ellos aver dado muy buena quenta y servido a sus Reales altezas en ellos e ser muy bien quisto e demas aver gastado qto tenia en la dha armada e q de servir a la dha corona real hera todo su pensamiento segund por obra a parecido le proveymos en nombre de sus magt^{ds} del dho cargo de capitan e justicia mayor e que del Rescibimos el juramento e solenidad que en tal caso se acostumbra e suele hazer hasta tanto q viesemos de fazer Relacion a sus Reales altezas de todo como paso pa q provea en ello lo q mas fuere su servicio ques esto.

Yten pues sabeys e conosceys a hernando cortes y es notorio qto zelo tiene a las cosas del servicio de dios nro señor e con quan entera y sana voluntad a servido e sirve a la corona real e qta abilidad y suficiencia tiene pa. dar muy buena qta de todos e qualesqer cargos que por sus Reales altezas le fueren encomendados e quan bien quisto a seydo y es asy en la ysla fernandina como en los cargos Reales que en la dha ysla a tenido como de toda la gente que en su compañía a estas partes con el paso con este cargo que en nombre de sus altezas traxo e la manera e saber que tiene e ysperiencia de conquista que ovo en la ysla fernandina e los muchos gastos que en esta armada a fecho el a manera a maña q sabra dar pa. conquistar e poner en paz estas partes pa. q vengan en conocimiento las gentes della de nra santa fee y en servidumbre de sus Reales altezas de lo qual se seguiria mucho fruto por tanto en nombre deste concejo e villa e vezinos e moradores della muy afetosamente suplicareys a sus magt^{ds} les manden dar e hagan mds de su prouision Real de la conquista e governacion destas ptes. e tierra fasta tanto que la acabe de conquistar e poblar e a sus Reales altezas les sea fecha por nos Relacion y en esto sus magt^{ds} a todos nosotros faran en ello muy grandisimas mds por lo que del conoscemos e porque asy conuiene a su Real servicio porque toda la gente que en su compañía esta lo quiere mucho e a nos lo a pedido en nro cabildo que supliquemos a sus altezas le fagan la dha md e despues de la conquista fha sy a sus altezas ouiese bien servido en ello le fagan md q la tenga en governacion todo el tpo q la voluntad de sus magts fuere e concediendonos esta md a sus altezas converna mas a su servicio que no hazer adelantado a nadie porque pierden y menoscaban sus rentas e parte del señorío que en ellas tienen e sus vasallos no son tan bien tratados a causa de se dar governaciones e adelantamientos perpetuos porque les fazen muchos synjusticias e no las osan pedir por estar sus Reales altezas tan lenxos de todo Remedio pa pedillas e con temor que sy piden estando en Residencia se les a de tornar el mismo cargo e les a de tornar a tratar peor que antes lo que no osan fazer los gobernadores e justicias que son por voluntad de sus altezas.

Yten pedireys señaladamente con todos vras fuerças e suplicareys de nra parte a sus Reales altezas que en ninguna manera provean ni hagan md a diego velazquez del adelantamiento ni de governacion ni de otro oficio ninguno en estas ptes por que sy le ocupase con los tales cargos o algunos dellos a la mytad de los que aca estamos procuraria de destruir syn justicia porque nos tenemos que a causa de no auer fecho lo que el quisiera que hera procurar de auer qto. oro pudieramos bien auido o mal auido destruyendo la tierra se lo enbiaramos a su poder pa. quel dello hiziera lo que por bien tuviera y esto parece claro por la voluntad que sus criados an aca mostrado que qto. que aca pasaron de que uieren q la voluntad de los que entero deseo e voluntad tenemos de servir a sus altezas

determinavamos de enbiar el oro a sus magt^{ds} por que uiese q^{ta}. p^{te}. de sus Reynos e señorios se acrecentava e quan bueno e q la md de la governacion della diese e fiziese md a quien su voluntad fuese e que no diese adelantamio ny gouernacion perpetua a nadie por que no convenia al bien de sus vasallos ni al servicio de la corona Real publicaron e se pusyeren en dezir e contradezir q hera mal fho enbiar el oro a sus sacras magt^d syno a diego velazqz y desto le haze entera Relacion y como quedan pa hazer justicia dellos e nosotros como muy leales vasallos de sus Reales altezas hemoslo avido syn pjyzio de yndio ni despañol e syn fazer mal ny daño en la tierra ants por les acrecentar sus Reynos e señorios la poblamos y le enbiamos el oro e plata e joyas que hemos buenamente podido auer en ella sy sus magt^s al dho diego velazquez aca enbiasen seria muy gran cargo de conciencia e seguirse ya mucho escandalo por donde la tierra se despoblase e sobre ello encargareys mucho las conciencias a sus Reales altezas e vosotros travajereys con mucha diligencia en que asi se haga pues tanto como nosotros deseyays el servicio de dios e de sus Reales altezas e el bien e pro.

Yten sy por caso sus Reales altezas por alguna Relacion que el dho diego velazquez les aya fecho le an proneydo de los cargos arriba dhos o de algunos dellos suplicareys e pidireys en nombre deste concejo e villa a sus Reales altezas den su prouision Real en que manden suspender e suspendan por ella las mds que al dho diego velazquez sus Reales altezas en esta tierra e partes ouieren fecho porque sy sus altezas le proueyesen de tales cargos seria dar lugar a que fiziese lo que a fho en la ysla fernandina asy en tomar e tener la tercia p^{te}. de los yndios della pa. su servicio como en tratar muy mal a los hijosdalgos que en ella biben e tenellos pobres en el ospital con tan pocos yndios q de comer no tienen con ellos e quitandose los cada vez que se le antoja syn tener Razon ni justicia por su voluntad e como hombre apasionado e dalos a psonas que a el se le antoja e no a personas conquistadores ni q ayan servido a sus magt^s e otras cosas que vosotros sabeys q por ser notorias no dezimos aqui la qual dicha prouision con mucha diligencia e mucho Recabdo nos enbiareys en la primera caravela que aca viniere con tal persona q seays seguros que verna a nro poder.

Yten suplicareys e pidireys de nra p^{te}. a sus Reales altezas que nos fagan md q los yndios destas ptes sean perpetuos e para ello manden dar prouisyones Reales pa. el dho fernando cortes pa. q nos los Reparta y encomiende perpetuamente por los primeros conquistadores e pobladores myrando e aviendo Respeto a la calidad de las personas e a los servicios que cada uno a fho e hiziere porque asy conviene a su Real servicio que no se depositen como se a fho en las otras ysas de lo qual se a syguido mucho daño porque las personas que los depositan como no los tienen por ciertos esperando que se los an de quitar cada dia como lo faze diego velazquez en la ysla fernandina los tratan mal e pa. esto como sabeys no bastan alcaldes ni visytadores e matanse e muerense muchos como por espiriencia se a visto pues que en la ysla española avia tantos que no cabian en la tierra della y unieron en tanta dimynucion que sy no se dieran perpetuos por mandado de sus Reales altezas ya no obiera ninguno pues los de la ysla fernandina ya sabeys como se apocan que sy no se Remedia presto no abra que Repartir e desto se sigue mucho daño a sus Reales altezas e a la Republica demas de ser en mucho deservicio de dios nro señor lo que siendo perpetuos e mandandolos sus Reales altezas encomendar a dar perpetuos luego los dhos yndios demas de tener los

yndios pensamio e voluntad de permanecer en la tierra faran muchos hedificios e cosas con que la tierra se ennoblezca y ellos e nosotros ternan e bibiremos con mas descanso e seran de los vezinos tratados como hijos demas del bien de los dhos yndios e españoles faran sus altezas gran seruicio a dios e acrecentaran sus rentas e señorios e a nosotros haran señalada md.

Yten fareys Relacion a sus mag^s. q de causa de se Repartir e dividir un pueblo e cacique en cinco o seys vezinos se a destruydo la ysla española e la de cuba porque por tener hermanos e parientes y ellos viendose partir y dividir toman tanto henojo que se dexan morir demas q los vezinos en quien se hizo el Repartimio andan syempre en pleytos y devates y dello se sigue mucho deservicio a dios nro señor e a su Real seruicio e al bien publico e suplicamos a sus Reales altezas manden que cada cacique e pueblo se encomyenden a un vezino e no mas pues loves a nro señor ay hartos pueblos e caciques en estas ptes.

Otrosy porque syn Regimios perpetuos las villas e cibdades no pueden ser bien gobernadas ni Regidas pedireys e suplicareys a sus Reales altezas que los Regimios desta villa nos faga md de dar e hazer luego perpetuos y las prouisiones dellos los nombres vengan en blanco dirigidas las dhas prouisiones a herdo. cortes pa. que en nombre de sus Reales altezas las den a las personas que aca les parecere que a seruicio de sus mag^s conuiene por ql aca los conoce y myrara lo que conviene a la su Real seruicio e que sus altezas no los den a sus priuados por que los uenden a personas que no los pueden ny deven tener e parece feo y pues aca ay muchos fijosdalgo e an servido e siruen a sus altezas les suplicareys en nombre deste concejo se prouean en los primeros conquistadores e nos fagan esta md dando las dhas prouisiones como arriba tenemos dho e sabe esto porneys mucha diligencia.

Yten suplicareys a sus mag^s que nos fagan md de darnos armas e pendon e sello a esta villa como sus Reales altezas lo han fho con las cibdades e villas de la ysla española e dando a cada villa e cibdad.

Yten suplicareys de nra pte. a sus magestades q los oficios Reales de contador e factor e ueedor de la fundicion e allide de la fortaleza e otros oficios que se ayen de proveer faga md dellos a los primeros conquistadores e pobladores que aca estan pues en ellos ay muchos cavalleros e hijosdalgo en quien pueden bien caber y dellos sus Reales altezas muy bien servir asy en los dhos oficios como en todo lo que aqui su Real oficio convenga muy mejor que no las psonas que los compran e no son pa. servirles syno pa. destruir la tierra y sobresto porneys mucha diliga faziendo Relacion de lo que hemos seruido y gastado y con q^{tos} trabajos se an poblado estas p^{tas}.

Otrosy que sus altezas nos fagan md que si algun vezino o vezinos desta villa o villas que adelante se poblaren que sean de los primos conquistadores enbiare a españa o a otra qualqr. pte. por algunas mercaderias o cosas q le conuengan dellos o pa. su casa questos tales vezinos no paguen almozarifazgo por tienpo de diez años que se entienda desdel dia que sus magestades nos hiziesen la md e asy mesmo pa. questas partes sean mejor proueydas por la necesidad que al presente ay que de las yslas comarcanas nos prouean que todo lo que dellas nos truxeren los vezinos e moradores dellas no paguen asy mesmo almozarifazgo por el dho tienpo o por mas sy sus altezas fueren servidos no dexeys de pedillo perpeto.

Otrosi que las scrivancias e algarilazgos e . . .⁹ del puca e de los concejos destas ptes, sea fha md dellas a los primeros conquistadores e pobladores antes que a otra psona alguna e sus altezas nos fagan md que no se den syno a hijosdalgo como por sus Reales ordenancas esta mandado.

Yten que sus altezas hagan md q por los primeros conquistadores e pobladores se Repartan solares e cavallerias e peonias las qles seyendoles señalados por los concejos desta uilla o uillas que en estas ptes, se poblaren aviendolas seruido dos años e las puedan uender y enagenar y disponer dello a su voluntad como de cosa suya que los otros vezinos q no sean de los primeros conquistadores e pobladores gozen como se suele hazer en las otras yslas comarcanas.

Yten que sus altezas hagan md a los tales primeros conquistadores e pobladores que de todo el oro e plata e perlas e piedras preciosas que se oviesen asy de minas como de Rescate no paguen a sus altezas mas del diezmo por tienpo de diez años o por el tienpo que sus magestades fueren servidos e q pasado el tal tienpo que den y paguen el quinto como en las otras yslas destas partes se acostumbran a pagar.

Otrosy suplicareys a sus Reales altezas que en la villa que agora es aya fundicion avierta todo el año porque cada uno funda lo que tuviere porque ay mucha nécesidad dello porq la tierra este proveyda e bastecida continuamente e que pa esto sus altezas manden proveer de fundidor e nos haga md de nos embiar el cuño con que se marque el oro.

Yten que sus altezas nos hagan md pues en estas partes ay plata de darnos licencia que aca se labre porque se haran a menos costa e con menos trabajo que trayendola de castilla e sobresto porneys mucha diligencia pues que sabeys que conuiene mucho a la Republica.

Yten que sus magestades nos fagan md e provean de nos enviar moneda labrada de plata y vellon pa el trato que unas personas an de tener con otras pues es cosa q mucho conviene a la Republica.

Otrosy que sus altezas nos fagan md a los tales primeros conquistadores e pobladores q puedan Rescatar con todos los yndios destas ptes asy en las que agora estan descubiertas como de las que de aqui adelante se descubrieren oro e plata e perlas e perlas preciosas¹⁰ e otras cosas qualesquier pagando solamente dello el derecho pteneciente a sus magts ante sus oficiales.

Yten que sus altezas nos fagan md que pa esta villa e para las otras que demas se poblaren de las penas que se aplicaren pa su camara pa los gastos e Reparos de los concejos por tienpo de seys años o pr los que a sus Reales altezas fueren servidos.

Otrosi que sus magts nos fagan md de la escubilla de la fundicion pa el ospital e cofradia de nra señora que esta fundada en esta dha villa.

Yten que sus altezas nos fagan md que puedan traer a estas ptes o tierra poblada nuevamente qualesquier esclavos o esclavas de las ptes despaña o de las yslas q pobladas son despañoles syn ningund detenimiento ny ympedimiento pa nro seruicio e sustentacion de nras psonas.

⁹ Blank in the original.

¹⁰ *Perlas preciosas* should doubtless be *pedras preciosas*.

Otrosi que sus altezas nos fagan md que queriendo yr a descubrir algunas personas e uezinos desta villa e ptes a su costa lo puedan fazer asentando e capitulando con los oficiales de sus altezas que aca Residieren lo que an de hazer e conuenga a su Real servicio que se cumpla e tenga lo que con los tales descubridores se pusiere con que despues bayan o enbien a que se lo confirmen sus altezas a su Real corte y dar Relacion e qta de lo descubierto e de auer esta licencia aca Redundara gran seruicio a sus magts e aumentacion de sus Reynos e señorios.

Otrosi que sus magts nos fagan md de las salinas destas partes sean francas e libres e los uezinos e moradores desta villa e ptes puedan gozar e gozen dellas syn pagar cosa alguna por ello.

Yten fareys muy entera Relacion a sus magt como diego velazquez no a gastado nada en estas armadas antes a ganado muchos dineros con nosotros vendiendonos a precios desaforados lo que en las dhas caravelas suyo venia por maña q podeys ynformar a sus Reales altezas que a tenido mas maña de mercader asy en estas armadas como en la conquista de cuba que no de armador como sabeys como parecera por las ynformaciones que dello levays las quales le dareys e prestareys con aquel acatamio que deveys en nro nōbre.

Otrosi que sus altezas nos fagan md de ganar del sumo pontifice bula pa que sean asueltos a culpa y a pena todas las personas que murieren en estas ptes en las conquistas dellas ensalcando la fee o yendo a descubrir tierras nuevas o a las poblar nuevamente pareciendo en ellas señales de xpianos como los que mueren en africa porque suelen morir muchos a causa de muchos peligros que se ofrecen porque aviendo la tal bula qualesqer. personas se aventuranan e se porman a qualesqer peligros que por los semejantes se les ofrezca de que a sus altezas sean seruidos e sus Reynos e señorios acrecentados.

Yten que sus altezas nos fagan md que esta tierra nuevamente poblada goze e tenga todos las libertades e franquezas que las yslas española e fernandina tienen e jamayca e tierra firme asy en no pagar pecho ni tributo alguno como de alcavalas o de otros qualesqer pecho e contribuciones como de las libertades q por Razon de ser nuevamente pobladas gozen e tienen por tiempo de veynte años o mas como sus altezas sean seruidos.

Yten suplicareys e pedireys en nombre deste concejo e uilla a sus Reales altezas que nos fagan md de darnos su prouision real pa que no nos sean quitados los yndios que en cuba algunos de nosotros tenemos depositados por tiempo de cinco años o mas por la uoluntad que sus altezas fueren seruidos porquesta tierra es larga e no se podra tan presto conquistar ni aver prouecho della e sy los yndios que en la dha ysla fernandina tienen qytasen perderseles y an las haziendas e no se proveeria esta tierra e partes como se proveeran teniendo los dhos yndios de lo qual Redundara muy gran desseruicio a sus Reales altezas e sobresto porneys mucha diligencia pues os cumple mucho y a vosotros y a la Republica.

Yten que sus altezas nos fagan md de darnos una cedula e prouision por que ninguna persona de qualquier calidad e condicion que sean ni concejo ni persona ni personas oficiales de sus altezas ni governador ni otra alguna pueda tomar ni enbaraçar nauios ni carauelas que cargaren en el Rio de sevilla ni otro qualquier puerto asy en española como en las yslas comarcanas ni en todas las descubiertas de sus Reynos e señorios por esta villa e partes con vastimentos por ninguna

cosa que sea porque ay al presente mucha necesidad de se proveer y es cosa que conviene mucho a su Real servicio.

Otrosi que por qto en esta tierra se comienza a conquistar e poblar nuevamente e podria ser que como larga y de mucha gente que algunos caciques se pongan en no querer uenir en conocimiento de nra santa fee ni en servidumbre de sus magts e aun syn todo esto hazer ni dar guerra que en nonbre deste concejo e villa supliqueys a sus Reales altezas que a los tales caciques que no quisieren ser xpianos e servir a sus magts ouieren guerra seyendo sojurgados por fuerça e guerra nos fagan md que se puedan dar e Repartir por esclavos como se acostumbra hazer en tierra de ynfeles pues es cosa muy justa e sy entretanto que sus altezas confirman esta md e vosotros negocays esto se ofreciere lo suso dho y al capitan hernando cortes ouiere Repartido algunos dellos tales yndios en nonbre de sus altezas que asy mismo sus altezas tengan por bien nos fagan md de nos los dar e sean esclavos e pa. esto pedireys se nos de un hierro con que se hierren.

Yten pedireys a sus altezas q los alcaldes destas ptes. sean visytadores porque ay muchos Revueltos y henojos sobre las jurediciones como por ysperincia en estas ysas e ptes. se a visto como sabeys.

Yten pedireys e suplicareys de nra pte. a sus Reales altezas q los yndios q pasamos a estas partes en su Real servicio e para sustentacion de nras personas nos haga md a las personas q los tenemos e pues dello se a seguido mucho fruto e seguira de aqui adelante como sabeys por ello nos den sus povisyones Reales.

Otrosi terneys cuydado de hazer Relacion a sus altezas como el servicio queste concejo faze a sus magts del oro e de todas las otras cosas se entiende myll e ochocientos pesos q van demasiados en la Rueda porq de todo a sus altezas no ptenecian de su quinto mas de dos myll pesos de diez myll que heran como sabeys y de los collares y Rodelas y plata y plumajes y de todo lo demas q al concejo ptenecio ansymismo fazen seruicio a sus Reales altezas y esto tambien aueys de platicar y dezir a los de la casa de la contratacion de sevilla a que por mandado de sus magts Residen en ella y de pte desta villa e concejo le pidireys afinadamente que todo lo suso dho que ansy llevays os lo dexe llevar a doquier que sus magts estavieren e sobresto terneys toda diligencia que a vosotros posible fuere.

Otrosi pedireys e suplicareys de pte deste concejo e villa a sus Reales altezas que nos manden dar un pesquisidor tal persona que conuenga pa. pobrar todo lo que a sus magts hemos fho Relacion de diego velazquez y en esta ynstrucion llevays pa. pedir contra el dho diego velazquez porque conviene mucho a su Real seruicio que sepa sus cosas e como gouerna las quales con otras muchas y muy feas pa. gouernador provaremos por donde sus magts veran la Razon e causa que nos mueua a dezir pedir e suplicar todo lo suso dho y en esto poned mucha diligencia porque asi conuiene al seruicio de dios nro señor e de sus altezas e al bien publico destas partes q luego se prouea.

Yten no fareys ni pedireys cosa alguna que a este concejo conuiniese syn consejo de letrado y en todo lo en esta ynstrucion contenido fareys todo aquello que los buenos e leales procuradores deuen hazer por su concejo poniendo toda la diligencia q sea posible y en un punto no saldrey de lo que aqui va porque asi conuiene al seruicio de dios nro señor e a sus altezas e al bien publico comun de los vezinos e moradores desta dha uilla.

Alonso danila alde Alo de grado alde. Xpoval doli bernaldino bazquez de tapia gonzalo de sandoual regidores por mandado de los dhos señores justicia e regidores diego de godoy scriuano pueo e del concejo.

En la villa

Rica de la

Vera-Cruz

II

Upon setting out for Honduras to restore his authority over that province in view of the defection of Cristóbal de Olid, Cortés named Alonso de Estrada, the *tesorero*, Rodrigo de Albornoz, the *contador*, and the *licenciado*, Alonso de Zuazo as his lieutenants to govern New Spain in his absence. Discord between Estrada and Albornoz almost immediately assumed such proportions that, fearing grave governmental repercussions and a possible Indian revolt, Cortés, upon reaching Espiritu Santo, felt impelled to take drastic remedial action. He consequently issued a *provisión* by which he removed Albornoz and Estrada from authority and appointed Gonzalo de Salazar, the *factor*, and Pedro Almindez Cherinos, the *veedor*, both of whom had accompanied him from the City of Mexico, in their stead. Zuazo, in whom Cortés possessed confidence, was authorized to remain in office. This *provisión*, which exists in certified copy among the papers of the Hospital de Jesús in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico, is as follows:¹¹

[*Provisión* of Hernán Cortés appointing Gonzalo de Salazar and Pedro Almindez Cherinos to replace Alonso de Estrada and Rodrigo de Albornoz as his Lieutenants Governor in New Spain, Espiritu Santo, December 14, 1524.]

Yo fernando Cortes Capitan general y governador desta nueva españa y sus provincias por su magt digo que por quãto los dias pasados estando yo de partida de la cibdad de tenuxtitan do continuamente he sido para venir a visitar y pacificar algunas provincias destas parts de la nueva españa y a entender en / otras cosas cunplideras al seruio de dios nro señor y de su magt. y al bien y pro comun de los vso e naturales dellas dexe por mis lugar thenies al liçenciado alo destrada e ro de albornoz thesorero e cõtador en esta nueva españa por su magt. para q como tales entendiesen en las cosas tocants / a la governacion e / administracion de la justia dellas y en todas las / otras cosas que se / ofreciesen

¹¹ The document is contained in the following *expediente*: Autos que sigue Don Juan Bello, Conquistador, contra el Fiscal de S. M., sobre encomienda de los pueblos de Ixmiquilpan y Tlaxintla; año de 1536: Archivo General de la Nación, México, Hospital de Jesús, Legajo 285, Número 92. For a satisfactory secondary account of the conduct in office of Albornoz, Salazar, Estrada, and Cherinos during the years from 1524 to 1526, and of their intrigues against Cortés as Governor and against each other, cf. Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco, 1883-1890, 22 vols.), X, Chapters X-XIII.

teniendo por cierto q segund la calidad e / abilidad de sus personas en todo ello se entenderia en tal maña que dios nro señor e su magt. fuesen / servidos e todos los negoçios / oviesen mejor espedecion e despacho e yo e sido ynformado que despues que de la dha cibdad de tenuxtitan me parti entre los dhos thesorero e cõtador an / auido ciertas diferencias de donde / an / avido e se an / ofrecido algunas pasiones que an qrido tener en la maña del govarnar e / administrar justa sobre lo qual yo les he espito y encargada la / orden q avian de tener en todo lo suso dho para q entrellos / oviese toda concordia e cesasen las pasiones e que no diesen lugar / a que ninguna entre ellos Reynase e se toviere tal horden como dios e su magt. fuesen seruidos e los vso e naturales destas ptes estoviesen mantenidos en justa y en todo sosiego sin embargo de lo qual / a parescido q no an querido ni quiere apartarse de las dhas pasiones ni abstenerse dellas ni tener / aquella conformidad que an qrido tener en la maña del govarnar e / administrar justa e bien de los vso naturales destas pts antes an ynsestido en hazer lo contrario que por mi les ha sydo mandado e rrogado por [mis] cãs como parece por cartas ql dia de le fha desta yo rrecibi de la cibdad de mexico en q me hazen saber q los dhos thesorero e contador sobre sus pasyons e cosas q entre ellos tienen [no haziendo] lo q debian mirar estando en cabildo se dixeron palabras ynjuriosas tales q vinieron a / echar mano a las espadas ellos e sus criados syno fuera por personas q se hallarõ pesentes oviere mucho alboroto y escandalo e que se recresiera mucho dapno y por q si ansy pasare e no se diese remedio / a ello seria mucho deseruio de su magt. y seria mucha / ocasion para q viniese mucho riesgo e dapno / a los vso e naturales e queriendo proveer a remediar en lo suso dho acorde q por que al tpo q yo me parti de la dha cibdad de tenuxtitan truxe en mi compaña goncalo de salazar e a peral mildez cherinos factor e veedor de su magt. para q en todo lo q se / ofresciese fuesen e se hallasen presents e con su / acuerdo e paresçer q se pudiese hazer encaminar todo lo q convenia / al seruio de su magt a los quales yo e rogado y encargado q pusf entre los dhos thero e cõtador mis lugar thenies se an / ofrecido e / ay las dhas pasyones las quales se podrian remediar con su buelta / a la dha cibdad de tenuxtita por ser como son todos / oficiales de su magt. y ellos podrian pacificar (?) e poner en concordia a los dhos thero e cõtador de lo qual su mgt sera seruido / los quales dhos go de Salazar y peral milldez por . . .¹² y mandado e viendo quanto en ello sirven / a su magt. lo / an / a . . .¹³ por tanto por la psente por virtud de los poderes que de su magt. pa lo tocante / a la gouernacion e / administracion destas partes digo q doy e / otorgo todo mi poder cunplido / a vos los dhos go de salazar e peral milldez cherino pa q vos / otros anbos / a dos juntamete cõl licenciado alo de çuaço como mis lugar thenies podays usar y exercer y entendays en todas las cosas tocantes / a la dha gouernacion en todas las causas e cosas / a ella / anexas e concernietes e podays conocer e conoçcays de todas e qualesquier cabsas tocantes a la dha gouernaciõ / a / sy en la juridiccion della civil e criminal segund y de la forma y maña q so cõtiene en el poder q de mi tiene alo destrada e Ro de albornoz thero e contador e el dho alo de çuaço syn añedir ni menguar en ello ni en pte dello cosa alguna el qual dho poder vos doy con todas sus yncidencias e depedencias anexidades e conexidades e mando al consejo justa e Regidores de la dha cibdad q juntos en vro cabildo regiban de vos / otros la solenidad que en tal caso se rrequiere e vos

¹² Illegible.¹³ Illegible.

Reçiban / al dho cargo de mis lugar thenietes juntamete con el dho liçençiado alo de çuaço e libremete vos lo dexten usar y exercer y en ello ni en pte dello no vos pongan ni consientã poner ynpedimento ni embargo alguno e vos acudan e hagan acudir con todos dros e salarios / al dho cargo / anexos e concernietes por q yo desde agora vos he por mis lugar thenies juntamete cõl dho liedo alo de çuaço e uos Reçibo y he por regebidos / al dho ofo e cargo e al uso y exerçio dellos e mando / a todos los vso e moradores e naturales destas partes q vos / ayan e tengan por tales e parezcan / a vros llamamios y enplazamietos e obedezcan vros mandamios so las penas q sobre ello pusierds / o mandards poner las quales por la . . .¹⁴ yo les pongo y he por puestas e pa todo lo suso dho uos doy todo my (?) poder cunplido segund q de su magt. yo lo he e tengo e . . .¹⁵ estas . . . Revoco y he por ninguno / y de ningund valor e (?) efeto el (?) poder e poderes que . . .¹⁶ he dado y di / a alo destrada e [Ro] de albornoç [thesro] e cõtador para q fuesen mys lugar tyenies e usare (para) mi el dho oficio e cargo e quiero que no valgan ni de aqui / adelante ellos ni alguno dellos puedan usar ni exercer el dho ofo e cargo por virtud del dho poder por quanto ansy es mi voluntad e cunpla el seruio de dios y de su magt e al bien de los vso y naturales a los quales mando que siendo le notificada esta dha prouisiõ y poder no usen ellos ni alguno dellos de los dhos poderes que de mi tiene dha dha gouernacion y capitan general en algun maña so pena de perdimio de todos sus bienes para la camara e fisco de sus magts con mas las penas q contra ellos por dro se hallaren y ansymismo Revoco e anulo e doy por ninguno e de ningund valor ni efecto el poder q yo dexe / a / alo destrada thero de capitan genal q quiero y es my voluntad que no ualga ni del usen en ninguna maña so la dha pena syno vos / los dhos go de salazar e pero almilldez cherino a los cuales mando que luego q llegueys / a la dha cibdad de tenuxtitan hagays ynformacion del dho alboroto e escandalo q los susos dhs thero e cõtador tovierõ e hizierõ e / audia vra ynformacion de todo ello procedeyds (contra) qualquier de los sobre dhos e otras qualesqr psonas que hallardes (cul)padas en ello a las quales castigareys conforme a justa para lo . . .¹⁷ q dho es a cada cosa e pte dello vos doy el dho mi poder en noe de su magt. cunplidamete segund dho es e los unos ni los / otros non fagadas ende el so pena de quiso pesos de / oro / a cada uno para la camara e fisco de su magt. fho en la villa del espu santo / a catorze de deçe de mill e quiso e veynte e quatro años hernãdo cortes por mdo del governador mi señor alo valiente /.

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¹⁴ Manuscript torn.

¹⁵ Manuscript torn.

¹⁶ Manuscript torn.

¹⁷ Illegible.

BOOK REVIEWS

The International Economic Position of Argentina. By VERNON LOVELL PHELPS. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. Pp. xv, 276. \$3.00.)

This volume was originally planned to cover the years from 1914 to 1933, a period during which Argentina's commercial relations were based on an equality of treatment to all nations; for it was during this period that Argentine economic intercourse with the United States increased greatly. On second thought, however, the author decided to pay some attention to changes in the economic position of Argentina owing to its adoption in 1933 of a policy of preferential treatment in international commercial relations. The importance of this study is clear when we notice that, as Dr. Phelps demonstrates, in several phases of economic life Argentina carries on about one-half of the entire activities of South America and that, before the greatest depression known to man, the Argentine nation held over seventy per cent of that continent's stock of gold.

The monograph opens with a sketch of early commercial relations between La Plata and the United States. An account is given of Argentine industry with some attention to its development since the World War. The economic readjustments in Argentina consequent upon that war are described in some detail. Dr. Phelps points out that after 1920 Argentina's international accounts had to be readjusted because it no longer had large surpluses that could be used for the reduction of its foreign indebtedness. He describes the mechanism used by that country for the adjustments of its balance of payments after 1928 and furnishes an analysis of the circumstances leading to the suspension of gold payments by Argentina in December, 1929.

A chapter is devoted to the growth of foreign investments in Argentina from 1910 to 1934. The author shows that the total investments of the United States in Argentina increased from less than 100,000,000 gold pesos in 1920 to over 800,000,000 in 1930, that from 1914 to 1928 almost all of its municipal, provincial, and national financing was done in New York City, but that since 1931 the volume

of United States capital invested in Argentina showed a marked relative decrease in comparison with the capital invested there from other foreign countries.

In a portion of the book devoted to Argentine trade, attention is paid to its distribution in England, the United States, Germany, Belgium, and France that absorb two-thirds of that commerce. A careful estimate is made of the place of the United States in Argentine import and export trade; and the factors to be reckoned with in determining the competitive position of England and the United States are considered. Dr. Phelps shows that the Argentine slogan *comprar á quien nos compra* has recently played a very significant rôle in the international commercial policy of Argentina. He finds it difficult to predict to what extent the doctrine of bilateralism will remain a permanent factor in Argentine commercial policy. He gives brief consideration to the opposition to the tariff policy of the United States in southern South America. In a discussion of the commercial policy of Argentina toward foreign nations, he gives attention to its recent reciprocity agreements.

The treatise has a brief bibliography. It is equipped with thirty-one tables, illustrated by eleven charts, and furnished with appendices on foreign investments in Argentina, Argentine international accounts, and note circulation. Because of its wealth of material, its careful generalizations, and suggestive treatment, this monograph will be very useful to serious students of the social and economic life of South America.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

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Chile luchando por nuevas Formas de Vida. By DR. WILHELM MANN. 2 vols. (Santiago de Chile: Prensas de la Editorial Ercilla, 1935-1936. Pp. 314, [1]; 359. Illus.; bibliography; index.)

The author of this work is, as his name suggests, a German-born Chilean. From data obtained in the work itself and from Chilean sources we learn that he has taught in the Instituto Pedagógico for many years and has also served as German consul in Chile. A convincing list of publications relating primarily to educational work in Hispanic America and to his adopted country attest his knowledge of the field. With true paternal devotion he dedicates his book to his son Guillermo "in order that an intimate knowledge of his native country may aid

him to appreciate human worth at its true value". This dedication, and the fact that the author's other titles suggest a close relationship between Germany and Hispanic America, might lead one to suspect a work of propaganda. To the reviewer they seem a natural result of the author's nativity. A perusal of the book confirms this belief. The work, in the judgment of the reviewer, will give the interested reader a worthwhile view of modern Chile in its political, social, economic and cultural aspects and Chilean reviews support this conclusion.

The author divides his subject matter into six parts and a conclusion. First describing the physical background and people in the two opening chapters, he devotes six chapters to a description of "Society and the State"; two to sanitary problems; four to material development; and an equal number to spiritual activities, including fine arts, belles lettres, and science; and two to public instruction. In a final chapter he sums up his general conclusions. Each chapter is subdivided and the individual topics are carefully grouped under each subdivision. His table of contents, therefore, forms an extensive catalogue of the purposes and events that have contributed to Chile's recent development. A bibliography of six pages shows familiarity with important recent general works and specific contributions. His brief index is little more than an expansion of the table of contents.

Such an elaborate subdivision leads naturally to a comparatively brief treatment of each topic. The author has endeavored, however, to accompany each leading discussion with sufficient data to give an adequate impression of its importance. In this attempt he is reasonably successful in presenting his readers with what forms a comprehensive picture of present-day Chile. His descriptive portions are supplemented by occasional statistical references and by numerous cuts of contemporary views. His general note is one of hopefulness and he consistently maintains the thesis that the country is making progress in all that contributes to human advancement. In other words the Chileans form a population in progressive evolution.

From such a standpoint must one judge the work. The author gives due weight to the material aspects of his subject, but he thoroughly believes it is likewise possible to show a progressive expansion in the national spirit. Nowhere else, one reviewer assures us, can one find so dispassionate and fruitful a discussion of Chilean painting, sculpture, music, and literature within so brief a compass. The

author leaves aside the purposes which may have inspired individual leaders and devotes his exposition to the higher evolutionary impulses that these purposes further. In many cases he does not even mention the names of those who have written or acted in behalf of significant measures. If he does refer to them, it is only insofar as they are symptomatic of current ideas. He seeks to interpret the essential character of changes which are taking place in contemporary life and to connect these changes in Chile with similar movements in other countries. The country is thus a field to test new forms of activity and plans to meet new problems. In this sense it is a testing-ground for universal movements. Hence the author believes his work will not only summarize the evolution of his adopted country, but will also counteract much of the false impression created by other recent publications.

In his attempt to evaluate new directions of activity, he shows that conditions in Chile differ greatly from those that obtained there before the World War. He attributes these new activities and the consequent material progress largely to the strong government of recent years. To make this permanent, the main interests of the country must be turned from nitrate and copper to agriculture, stock-raising, and manufacturing. In such a change, increased state activity, he claims, is unavoidable. There will be an increasing tendency to extend the sphere of technical life over national forces and human agencies. In this, Chile is merely following a universal tendency, but the author does not agree with Spengler that this tends toward decadence, nor does he class Chile among those countries that are converging toward an Indian civilization. He professes to believe that the future of the civilized world will be determined largely in South America. Chile, he maintains, has been a model for other nations of the continent from the earliest years of its independence, and he is sure that it will long continue to play that rôle.

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Alamán, Estadista e Historiador. By JOSÉ C. VALADÉS. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo, José Porrúa e Hijos. 1938. Pp. xii, 576, [1]. Plates.)

Señor Valadés, whose interpretative *Santa Anna y la Guerra de Tejas* appeared in 1936, here essays a detailed study based on new

historical documentation of one of the most imposing gentlemen of the old school in Mexican history and politics—the interpretation of an intellectual and social atmosphere which created and was built up at the same time by *Alamanismo*. Inspired by such well-equipped Mexican students as José Vasconcelos, Salvador Noriega, and the late Genaro Estrada, Valadés has given us a work of historical consequence.

Lucas Alamán, born of noble antecedents, in 1792, was a youth of eighteen when the War of Independence came to his native Guanajuato. His father, Juan Vicente, held numerous municipal offices, and was instrumental in building the Alhóndiga de Granaditas, in the defense of which the distinguished intendant Riaño, especial friend of young Lucas, was to lose his life fighting against the rebel priest Hidalgo. The mother, Doña Maria Ignacia, a close friend of Doña Victoria de Saint Maxent, who was a sister of the *virreina* wife of Bernardo de Gálvez, was able to place her son under the care of Riaño, and from that valorous friend Lucas began his training in languages, music, painting, and the natural sciences. In 1805, at the close of his second year of private instruction, the boy had in a single year translated the letters of St. Jerome, Cornelius Nepos, Quintus Curtius, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. In 1808, the father died intestate, but from the remains of the wealth, Lucas received a legacy of seventy thousand pesos. His mother took him and his sister to Mexico, just as Iturrigaray had been deposed. The youth began to learn French, using the books which had seeped into New Spain on the subject of revolutions. During these days, Agustín de Iturbide became a friend of the family, and called Doña Maria Ignacia “mamita”. But affairs in Guanajuato called the sojourners home, and in 1809, the future statesman resumed study there of mining and mathematics, Latin classics, drawing, and music. He also read many of the four thousand books contained in four libraries of his friends in the mining city. In 1810, he first met Hidalgo, almost at the same time becoming acquainted with the noted Bishop Abad y Queipo. In 1811, he became a member of the Third Order of San Francisco, by the rules of which he promised to eat no meat on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, to hear mass every day, to avoid comedies, parties, and profane acts, as well as taverns and dubious houses; to suffer no curls or artificial manipulation of the hair.

This was the youth who, in September, 1810, heard in his quiet provincial capital the story of the commotions in Dolores; Hidalgo's

rabble was soon at the portals of the town, Riaño suffered the death of which he had presentiment, and the sackers of the city were turned away by Hidalgo himself from the Alamán door. Next it was the vengeance of the royalist Calleja, which the youth witnessed, including the death of his old schoolmaster. These disorders determined the mother to depart with a convoy to Mexico City, where the memories of what he had seen turned the youth toward the paths of independence. Again to school, this time in the old Academia de Minería; and now in the hands of the Inquisition, which took away from him his treasured *History of America* by Robertson, the *Vicar of Wakefield*, and Surville's *Emilie*. Such wicked books!

In 1813, Alamán, done with seminary, began to plan a voyage to Europe, which he made with the cura of Irapuato, "a bitter enemy of the insurgents". For six years, the wealthy youngster made the rounds of the capitals of Europe, meeting in his journeys many prominent Spaniards, Italians, and Frenchmen. Others were the rebellious Americans who belonged to the secret order of Lautaro. The Abbé Grégoire in Paris, and the stormy Padre Mier were associates of his just at the beginning of the Hundred Days (p. 66).

Then came the days of the separation of Mexico from Spain; in the congress, Alamán served always the completest of independence, growing in influence amid contrary opinions. In the service of the country, his tenure of important positions was almost continuous; in mining and industry, he was always an ardent innovator and activator; in his statesmanship, there showed continually the desire to protect his country from the peril of the United States and from the ruin which the liberals and federalists threatened. It is impossible even to list his many activities, so completely was his life bound up in the history of his times. It was for the most part a struggle for the survival of the conservative party, for the ascendancy of the proprietary group and the clergy, that occupied the interest of this man of tremendous energy and unquestioned patriotism. If the biography had been undertaken by a member of the opposing group it could not have been so sympathetic, perhaps not so understanding; Alamán was accused of practically all the shortcomings available to a politician of the conservative persuasion, and yet he lived to conquer most of the criticisms. American readers would have liked more interpretation of the affinity between Alamán and Santa Anna; the latter character appears in these pages with a little more dignity than in most of the

traditional interpretations of his career; but the light here thrown is descriptive rather than analytical.

The work is drawn from much unused material; there is an adequate index; the student of Mexico cannot fail to be illumined by the outstanding scholarship of the book and its revealing picture of a great statesman and historian who stood head and shoulders above the mass of his contemporaries.

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Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773. Collected by ADOLPH F. A. BANDELIER and FANNY R. BANDELIER. Edited with introduction and annotations by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT. Volume III. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937. Pp. xi, 532. Index.)

The province of New Mexico offers an excellent and unusual opportunity for the study on a documentary basis of the history of a Spanish colony in all of its aspects, political, religious, economic, and social. The colony was of limited population and the volume of documents, while large, is practicable. In New Mexico were represented all of the factors and problems which existed in the Spanish colonies as a whole, and, moreover, the province was a frontier region in which defence against hostile Indians and European encroachment was necessary. The history of New Mexico during the Spanish period is being revealed in great fullness by the series of studies which have been, and are being, carried on by C. W. Hackett, F. V. Scholes, L. B. Bloom, A. B. Thomas, G. P. Hammond, and J. M. Espinosa. When these studies shall have been completed, in conjunction with exhaustive anthropological and archeological investigations in the area, there will be available for the first time a comprehensive study of a Spanish colony of relatively early origin through the entire course of its history.

The Bandelier Papers, representing the work of a pioneer in the fields of southwestern history and ethnology, and selected from among the documents of the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* and the *Archivo General y Público de la Nación* of Mexico, are of great value for the study of northern Mexico and New Mexico from the settlement of the latter province to 1773, and they have been admirably

edited and presented by Professor Hackett in a series of three volumes. The documents are preceded by excellent introductory statements.

The first volume, which includes *probanzas* of merits and services of *conquistadores* of New Spain, documents concerning the general administration of New Spain and the natives of the area from before 1550 to 1695, and papers relative to the founding of New Mexico, 1593-1614, was published in 1923, and the second, containing general administrative documents concerning Nueva Vizcaya, 1601-1698, appeared in 1926.

The third and final volume of the Bandelier Papers contains documents and extracts concerning New Mexico which cover the period 1620-1773. In certain instances, Professor Hackett has supplemented the papers compiled by the Bandeliers with documents which they themselves had not copied. The introduction traces the history of New Mexico from 1609, when Pedro de Peralta was appointed governor following the resignation of Juan de Oñate, to the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

It was originally intended that, following the method employed in the first two volumes, the Spanish documents and English translations should be published in two volumes, but it was determined to omit the former and, in a single volume, present solely the latter.

The documents and extracts include papers bearing on the conflict of jurisdiction between secular and ecclesiastical authorities, 1620-1639, a conflict which reached a climax during the governorship of Luis de Rosas (1637-1641), documents concerning ecclesiastical administration and the proposal to erect New Mexico into a bishopric, 1634-1641, extracts of Inquisition papers, 1629-1671, a document concerning the *residencia* of Governor Juan de Miranda and suits against him and General Juan Manso, 1665, papers concerning military defence and the reduction of the Indians, 1677-1680, documents touching the Indian uprisings, 1680-1698, and papers relating primarily to missions and the natives, 1706-1773. These papers throw light on political, social, religious, and economic conditions, aid in explaining the factors which led to the general decay of the province prior to the Pueblo Revolt, and give information concerning its reestablishment and development and the operations of the mission system. Publication of documents concerning the Pueblo Revolt and the reconquest has been limited to significant papers not readily available elsewhere.

In view of the fact that less research concerning New Mexico has been carried on among papers of the eighteenth century than among those of the seventeenth, the documents of the latter century which appear in the volume assume added importance. These documents consist in official correspondence and reports and reports of friars, and they afford valuable information regarding the mission system and its administration, the progress of conversion and indoctrination, political, social, economic, and religious conditions, population, ethnology, and geography. Certain of these papers concern a bitter repercussion of the State-Church controversy in the middle of the century, the secular authorities charging the friars with neglect of their spiritual duties, abuses, and corruption, and the friars accusing the former of persecution, disrespect, and hindrance of their work. This controversy reached a culminating point during the incumbency of Tomás Vélez Cachupín and caused the viceroy to despatch Juan Antonio de Ornedal y Masa to the province as a *visitador*. As the latter supported the charges against the friars, the *visita* resulted in an aggravation of the controversy and impelled the viceroy to give further attention to the situation.

Research in the *Archivo General de Indias* and in Mexican archives and collections since the time of the Bandeliers has resulted in the discovery of a great volume of papers concerning New Mexico from its colonization to the close of the Spanish era. A large number of these documents have been made available in the form of photostats, photographs, and transcripts. These have been deposited in the Library of Congress, the library of the University of New Mexico, the Newberry Library (Ayer Collection), the Bancroft Library, and the library of the University of Texas. Notable among these reproductions and copies are transcripts of Inquisition papers in the *Archivo General y Público de Nación* secured by F. V. Scholes, now available in the Library of Congress, the library of the University of New Mexico, and the Newberry Library, photographs of these Inquisition papers and of administrative documents of the eighteenth century in the same archive secured by L. B. Bloom, available in the library of the University of New Mexico, and photostats of documents of the eighteenth century from among the papers of the Convento de San Francisco el Grande in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico secured by F. V. Scholes, now deposited in the Library of Congress. These eighteenth century papers concern all phases of the history of the

province, including the important Ornedal episode, and offer opportunity for research, especially with respect to the mission system, in the period posterior to 1773, the final date of the Bandelier Papers.

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War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763. By RICHARD PARES.
(Oxford: 1936. Pp. 631. \$8.50.)

The period covered by this book divides itself into three logical parts: the period of the War of Jenkins' Ear, from 1739 to 1748; the interlude of peace, from 1748 to 1756; and the period of the Seven Years War, from 1756 to 1763. Mr. Pares conceives of the entire period of twenty-four years as a unit, and discusses his materials topically; in the mind of this reviewer this is a very unfortunate arrangement. For, while it is true that the fundamental problem involved is the same throughout, yet the expansion of French and British colonies, the rivalry for Spanish favor, and the reversal of alliances in 1756, not to mention other circumstances, so changed the situation that it would have been a far happier arrangement had the author divided his period into its chronological parts and then treated his topics as they fell within those parts.

The problem resolves itself into several major themes: the causes of colonial conflict; the diplomacy of colonial rivalry; the strategy and conduct of colonial warfare; the condition of the colonies, particularly the French and British, in wartime; and the eventual decision of the three- or four-cornered struggle in the Peace of Paris of 1763. The causes of the conflict were economic, and were concerned with a readjustment of the balance of colonial power established by the Peace of Utrecht. England, desirous of expanding its trade with the Spanish colonies and inclined to seize as much as possible of the Spanish territories, stood to gain most from the upset of the conditions it had guaranteed in the Anglo-Spanish treaty of Utrecht in 1713. English merchants and manufacturers were clamoring for a wider opening of the Spanish colonial trade than that permitted under the *Assiento*, and they resented the preferred place in the Cadiz trade enjoyed by France. If Spain would not grant the desired opening, then, many Englishmen believed, England should encourage the Spanish colonies to declare their independence of Spain, and invite them to place themselves under the protection, if not the actual govern-

ment, of Great Britain. The government of England entered the war of 1739 with the definite intention of annexing Spanish colonial territory, and of opening the Spanish colonies to British trade. By contrast, England had little desire, in 1744, to annex French territory in the West Indies. Additional islands would open a market only, or chiefly, for agricultural products, and they would flood England and its colonies with French sugar to compete with British sugar. Spanish territories, it was thought, were and would be buyers of British manufactured goods and the producers of logwood and hard money. By the time of the second war, however, British policy had changed, even with regard to the French islands; once Canada was conquered, England was anxious to annex all the French islands it could get. For England, then, both these wars were for commercial and territorial expansion.

French policy, on the whole, was dictated by the desire to maintain the balance of power established at Utrecht. For that reason, France was vitally interested in the Anglo-Spanish war of 1739 and entered that war in 1744. It was for the same reason that France consistently bid for Spanish alliance in the interlude of peace, and signed the Family Compact in 1761. France was not only defending its own empire in America; it was defending the *status quo* in the Spanish colonies and the American balance of power as well. Mr. Pares suggests that, had England taken any considerable part of the Spanish colonial possessions, the opposing nations would have formed some sort of coalition to preserve Spain's empire, and there would have been a different sort of Monroe Doctrine a century before Monroe. In 1713, England had guaranteed the *status quo* then existing in the Spanish empire; by 1739, England had set out to break up that empire, and France found itself in the position of guarantor.

The Dutch stood in a middle position between England and France, and Holland became the battle ground of French and British diplomacy. The Dutch were deeply involved in the trade with the Spanish colonies, and might have been expected to stand with Britain. But Holland stood on the continent of Europe, as England did not, and the Dutch were disturbed by the eternal fear of French invasion by land as well as by the fear that England might suspend Dutch navigation at sea. France was interested in keeping Holland out of war. French diplomats, therefore, espoused the Dutch cause at the court of Madrid, and French merchants hired Dutch ships to

carry goods to the French West Indies when it became impossible or unprofitable for French ships to do so.

Spain, of course, was on the defensive, particularly against England. Its complaints were genuine and valid enough. Spain had, indeed, never surrendered its claim to sovereignty over the new world. The concessions made in the treaties of 1667 and 1670 were exceptions to the rule. British ships, therefore, which sailed far off the normal course in going to or from the recognized British colonies, were regarded by Spain as being in "suspected latitudes", and they were held, by their mere presence there, to have violated Spanish sovereignty and commercial law. England, claiming a natural freedom of navigation, became the champion of the freedom of the seas, denying that Spain had any sovereignty at all outside the territorial limits of its actual colonies. For Spain it was bad enough that the old claim to sovereignty should be denied at sea, and to be required by England to pay damages for the seizures and confiscations of the *guarda-costas*. It was even worse to have England claim, on the ground of the old principle of "effective occupation", that logwood cut on the unoccupied shores of Yucatan and the Mosquitos emanated from British territory. Thus England advanced from questioning Spain's sovereignty at sea to questioning its sovereignty on land; to Spain it appeared that the safety of its entire empire were involved.

Mr. Pares ably discusses the problems involved in the wars that grew out of this complicated international situation: questions of military strategy; the effects of war upon the French and British sugar islands; the trade, legal and illegal, in peace and war, between neutrals and belligerents and between the belligerents themselves. He is at his best, perhaps, in his discussion of the British North American trade with the French islands, for which he presents numerous valuable statistics. The reader is struck by the importance of this trade, for North America as well as for the islands, and the inescapable fact that the history of one cannot be understood apart from the history of the other.

The diplomats of the eighteenth century were mercantilists. They were deeply concerned with the maintenance of the European equilibrium, which was threatened, at the mid-century, by the expansive tendencies of England. These tendencies were the result, in the minds of some, of England's progressive industrialization. The cause may be doubted; certainly this was not the only one—witness the expan-

siveness of the British on the continent of North America which was the result of a growth of population and a land hunger that apparently had no reference whatsoever to British industrialization. But in any case the expansiveness of England was causing a disturbance in the international equilibrium; the family alliances of France and Spain were calculated to be effective mechanisms against the disturbance. England succeeded, in 1763, in bringing about a profound readjustment in the colonial balance of power. But that readjustment was not to be tolerated for long; the allies of 1761 returned, in 1778, 1779, and 1780, to rectify the balance, again in the direction of the *status quo* of 1713.

The greatest fault in this study arises from the fact that, in considering the entire period as a whole, Mr. Pares has seemed to miss the distinction that should be made between the Spanish war with England that began in 1739 and the Anglo-French war that began in 1756. In the former, England threatened the Spanish Empire and France came to its defence. In the latter, the war began purely as an Anglo-French war, with regard to which Spain maintained an attitude of effective neutrality at least until 1761. To the present reviewer it appears that, although in both cases the fundamental problem involved was the British challenge to the balance of power in America, with Spain on the defensive in the first and with France on the defensive in the second, yet the two conflicts had different immediate causes, were conducted differently, and had very different results. Probably no adequate understanding of this period can be derived from any study that fails to consider all the theaters of conflict and of war.

Mr. Pares's work is based exclusively upon manuscript materials in the French and British archives. But "his courage failed him" before the vast archives of Simancas and Seville, and the work has been written without reference to the Spanish sources. This is a pity; for much that he has done, especially in the parts of the story that deal with diplomacy, will have to be done over in the light of what the Spanish documents contain. Nevertheless, this is an important and useful book, valuable for the history of Hispanic America, the British West Indies, North America, and Europe. For in the West Indies, in the eighteenth century—the crucible of America—the history of all four met.

Stanford University.

MAX SAVELLE.

The Diplomatic History of Georgia: A Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear. By JOHN TATE LANNING. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. x, [1], 275. \$4.00.)

About a generation ago scholars began to call attention to the fact that, two hundred years before General James Oglethorpe planted an English colony in Georgia, the Spanish had established garrisons and mission posts in the region and had for more than a century maintained control of Georgia, or Guale as they called it. Since then an increasing number of books has appeared on the Spanish period of Georgia history. Professor Lanning has already written an interesting and authoritative account of the missionary activities of the Spanish priests among the Indians of Guale. In *The Diplomatic History of Georgia*, a companion volume to his earlier *Spanish Missions in Georgia*, Professor Lanning deals with the long drawn-out contest between England and Spain for the final possession of Georgia. Opening with an introductory chapter, in which the issues are clearly stated, the book relates with great minutia of detail the story of the half-century from 1721, when England first began to build military posts in Georgia, to 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to England. Interwoven with the story of the diplomatic intrigues of England and Spain is an account of their dispute over commerce and navigation in the West Indies, of the settlement of the colony of Georgia, of Indians and the fur trade, of the War of Jenkins' Ear, and, always in the background, the threatening figure of France as an ally of Spain under the *pacte de famille*.

The diplomatic story reveals the fact that England looked upon treaties as mere scraps of paper which it ignored if they hampered either its trade or its imperial designs. In its efforts to extend authority to new lands, England determined ownership not by right of discovery but by the power to seize and hold by armed force. One contemporary writer stated that the English "ground their *Claim* upon actual *Possession*"; and Oglethorpe took the position that, once the English were in possession, it was incumbent upon the Spanish to produce indisputable proof of their title before the English could be required to justify their possession.

This work makes clear that the old idea that Georgia was established primarily as a religious and philanthropic enterprise is no longer tenable. The first English establishment in Georgia was a fur trading post and the first plans for settling the region, that of

Azilia twenty-five years before Oglethorpe landed at Savannah, was based upon the idea of a buffer colony between Carolina and Spanish Florida. While the actual establishment of Georgia was ostensibly a humanitarian enterprise, "under Oglethorpe's leadership Georgia as a religious and philanthropic undertaking took second place to Georgia, the imperialistic colony" (p. 33).

The Oglethorpe portrayed in this book is not the magnanimous and philanthropic humanitarian, but an alert, active, and energetic diplomat, who "subtly drew the veil of haziness" over the issues between England and Spain and formulated a policy of "cunning, subterfuge, and falsification". Under the leadership of this "indomitable, but domineering and opinionated Oglethorpe a mere handful of men were able to accomplish more than all England's mighty fleet in the West Indies".

The author's most significant contribution is probably to be found in his treatment of American participation in the War of Jenkins' Ear, the mention of which to the average individual evokes "either frank laughter or courteous blankness". Professor Lanning takes the position that this conflict holds the key to England's imperialistic program of the first half of the eighteenth century and is, therefore, as important as any of England's colonial wars of the period. He reaches the conclusion that Walpole's policy was forced by the howling of the English mob, the petition of the merchants, and the agitation of the Trustees of Georgia. England, because of commerce and navigation, was "touched in two very tender points, her pride and her pocketbook" (p. 182) but, most of all, the "English mind from the common laborer to the nobleman was affected by the imperial concept" (p. 184). The war had another significant aspect. The continental colonies contributed much to the fighting in both men and supplies, and the colonists resented the fact that the British officers treated them with condescension and contempt. Furthermore, the first great surge of privateering, which was to strike a blow against English mercantilism, came during the ill-fated conflict. Here, then, are two important factors which were to influence the coming of the American Revolution.

The lengthy discussion of the exploits of John Savy, or Don Miguel Wall, as he preferred to be called, over-emphasizes a minor episode which has little real significance to the general story. Some typographical errors which might have been eliminated by careful proof

reading mar the book. See for instance page 222 the statement that Oglethorpe "spoke vehemently of the designed of pedition [expedition] against Florida". The work will appeal to the specialist rather than the general reader. It is entirely too detailed for the latter. Its style, too, is heavy and some passages are very obscure. There will be no need, however, for any further treatment of this problem since the author has made an exhaustive search into the materials and written a definitive account of it.

FLETCHER M. GREEN.

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Chapel Hill.

The Filibuster: The Career of William Walker. By LAURENCE GREENE. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company [c1937]. Pp. 350. Portrait; illus.; index; inside cover map. \$3.50.)

Laurence Greene states that the purpose of this book is "to show that William Walker was a drab little man who fitted his deeds no better than he did his clothing". In this he succeeds admirably, even though he admits at times that his subject did have some good qualities.

Walker was born in Nashville in 1824, and was destined for the ministry. His early religious training gave him a puritanical austerity that was to prove greatly at variance with his career. He deserted his ministerial studies for medicine, then turned to law, but finally became a journalist in New Orleans. There he condemned both filibustering and slavery—two causes he later embraced. From New Orleans he migrated to California, where he found success neither in law nor in journalism. When an opportunity presented itself, he led an expedition into Mexico, and attempted to set up a "Republic of Sonora". He was fortunate to escape back to California with his life.

The Sonora experience, together with a surgeon's steadiness, a journalist's enterprise, and a lawyer's cunning, fitted Walker admirably for his next enterprise. In May, 1855, he sailed with fifty-eight men for Nicaragua to fight under the banner of Francisco Castellón. Within four months a combination of ability, uncanny luck, and natural events common to Central America had placed him in control of Nicaragua, and within a year he had had himself elected president of the republic. However, he had already sealed his doom

by crossing Cornelius Vanderbilt in seizing the Accessory Transit Company.

As soon as President Walker had carried out his legislative program, which included the legalization of slavery, he was forced to turn his attention to the allied armies of Central America, which were pressing on all sides. Thereafter, he fought a desperate but losing fight, and on May 1, 1857, he surrendered to Commander Charles H. Davis of the U. S. S. *St. Mary's*. He was returned to the United States, where he "was, for a little time, the darling of the mob".

Walker still considered himself president of Nicaragua, and was obsessed with the idea of a second conquest. He wrote his *The War in Nicaragua*, sought the aid of the slave interests in the south, and worked feverishly in preparation. In the spring of 1860, he returned to Central America, and on September 3 he was forced to surrender to Commander Norvell Salmon of the British warship *Icarus*. Nine days later "the Grey-Eyed Man of Destiny" faced a Honduran firing squad, and thus ended the career of "a paradoxical little man who was inspired by a desperation of restless ambition".

The career of William Walker has been overshadowed by the events which followed it. The exploits (and the conditions which made them possible) of a man who, with fifty-eight followers, "captured a country, razed its proudest city and withstood for a remarkable time the assaults of four neighboring nations" deserve more attention than those of Walker have received. Greene gathered his material from limited, scattered, and often inaccurate sources to reconstruct the life of this man whose name Webster used in defining the word "filibuster". He relied largely on William O. Scrogg's *Filibusters and Financiers* and Walker's *The War in Nicaragua*. His account might have been helped by a perusal of the Appleton Oaksmith collection in the Duke University Library. Greene combines the methods of the historian and the journalist in telling a dramatic and colorful story.

WILLIAM D. MCCAIN.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

As Culturas negras no Novo Mundo. By ARTHUR RAMOS. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, S/A Editora, 1937. Pp. 399.)

Dr. Arthur Ramos has already published so much on the Negro in Brazil as to make his name preëminent among those who cultivate

this particular field of erudition. This new volume is much broader than his earlier studies, entitled, *O Negro Brasileiro* and *O Folklore Negro do Brasil*. As a matter of fact there is no suitable or satisfactory work in any language that examines the cultural evolution of the Negro in all parts of America. While this volume is admittedly synthetical and hence superficial in the treatment of many problems, one cannot fail to admire the able selection of material and the abundance of citations, demonstrative of a perfect familiarity with the extensive literature on the subject in all of the American countries. Dr. Ramos has produced an excellent manual, of extraordinary utility for the reader seeking a coördinated examination of the rôle of the Negro in this hemisphere.

The Negro has become fashionable in Brazil. The holding of two Afro-Brazilian congresses in recent years testify to the importance that is attached to this aspect of the national cultural pattern. Dr. Ramos suggests certain warnings in the face of the unbounded enthusiasm for things Negro. He urges that it be not considered a fad or craze of passing significance. The second danger is lest the purely picturesque obscure the whole trend. This was very much the case in the past. The Negro was a spectacle rather than a part of the social order of the nation. Dr. Ramos insists that the Negro can be no passing fancy but an integral part of the Brazilian nationality, whose history and evolution must be examined in order to attain a balanced perspective of the nation's development.

The book is divided into six sections, arranged in progressive or ascending order. In the first place, the author examines the nature and character of Negro culture in Africa. Here is the background, the origins and the antecedents of the Negro before transportation to America. In connection with this chapter, Dr. Ramos cites frequently and effectively such well known Africanists as Frobenius, Montandon, Herskovits, and others. The second section treats of the Negro in North America with brief considerations of the slave trade. This is probably the only treatment of the American Negro in the United States to appear in the Portuguese language. Very little that is Negro in this country escapes his diligent pen; Harlem, Father Divine, spirituals, and the abundant folklore of the American Negro are all mentioned. The chapter on the West Indies is varied and rich. Much that is said of Cuba is inspired by the writings of Dr. Fernando Ortiz. For Haiti, the invaluable *Ainsi parla l'Oncle* of Dr. Price

Mars is freely quoted. The Negro in the other American countries must be passed over with only a word, in view of the almost universal negligence that prevails regarding this field of study.

For the social anthropologist, the last chapters of Dr. Ramos's study are most stimulating, as they analyze the moot problem of acculturation and the theses sustained concerning the results of the impact of the Negro on European civilization in the new world. Dr. Ramos has produced a penetrating book, full of enlightened observations on the Negro in America. His work is of an importance perhaps unexcelled in Brazil in a field that is at once fruitful and arduous.

RICHARD PATTEE.

Washington, D. C.

Cómo cayó el Presidente Machado. By ALBERTO LAMAR SCHWEYER. (Habana: Montalvo Cardenas, 2d ed., 1938. Pp. 223. 1 peso.)

This is a pro-Machado book. Machado is portrayed as the unselfish, patriot defender of Cuban sovereignty in counterbalance to Sumner Welles, the head of the opposition movement to the Machado régime. While such a thesis will obviously not be generally accepted, the study is nevertheless highly valuable for its plain statement of certain little-understood aspects of Cuban political life. It may be read with profit by any student of inter-American political relations.

The book opens with an unhappy picture of the Cuban political situation. Revolution seems to be accepted as a proper method of political change; but revolution against Machado was known to be unhealthy. Since the several opposition movements to the Machado régime were led by men quite as conservative in economic and political respects as the more powerful dictator, the general possibility of deriving personal profit from such a change of leaders was not worth the risk involved. Yet the political perspective proved of singular interest to many a young Cuban. National honor and personal profit might become one; a change in Cuba's economic and political conditions might well involve individual economic prosperity. The question was "How"? The answer, "The ABC movement".

The ABC was a secret political society. It was composed of idealists seeking a desperate solution for Machado. It was composed of men striving for their personal share in political spoils. And because of the secret character of the organization, many a man in the pay of Machado also served the ABC. "Perhaps this was not entirely moral; it was undoubtedly practical".

The ABC sought, primarily, to attain the personal power of its members; this problem involved the secondary consideration of what to do about dictator Machado. That the organization determined "to adopt any means in order to create such a state of affairs as would force the United States to intervene", was proved by the death threats made to Ambassador Guggenheim and to the German minister, and by the bomb which exploded in the British Legation. Terror became a weapon, and this book contains many an account of the havoc wrought by student hoodlums.

But terror alone did not work. Possibly the reader is imagining the Cubans as fearful in the crash of their bursting bombs? Not at all. "Man is an adaptable creature, and just as the legendary salamanders lived in the midst of the flames, so the citizens of Havana lived among their bombs".

Cuban bombs bursting in petition for United States aid against the Cuban dictator! And yet the very man portrayed in this book as directly responsible for the downfall of Machado, becomes the arch-villain of the story.

Sumner Welles had come to Cuba in the rôle of friendly advisor to the Cuban people. Yet he is portrayed as the leader of the opposition to Machado. The technique employed was the deliberate transformation of a small labor movement into a calamitous general strike . . . or so this story runs. The strike was led by Rubén Martínez Villena, "Cuba's only really Communist leader", a man who did not hesitate to serve the ABC, because, serving it, he served his own ideal. "To be sure this was not the little ideal of overthrowing Machado so that another capitalist régime might replace him, but, rather, to create disorder, and, at the same time, to put the United States in a difficult position by forcing intervention in Cuba". As ex-officio leader, Sumner Welles is portrayed as manipulating this Revolution "as if the Cubans were puppets in an enormous Punch and Judy show and their guiding threads were in his hands".

There is many a contradiction in this book. Early stress on student terrorism is followed by inexplicable emphasis upon Machado's ability to maintain law and order. The assertion of Cuban certainty that there would be no United States intervention makes rather pointless Machado's patriotic gesture of renunciation of power in order to avoid intervention and to save Cuban political integrity. The mad Cuban passion for revenge for sufferings under the Machado régime

is singularly inconsistent with the rather idyllic portrayal of that régime.

As a conclusion to this whole sorry story, might be mentioned the author's analysis of Cuban character.

The Cuban is a man of passions. . . . From the Spaniard, who gave him his blood, he inherited his inflexible and absolute sense of personal truth; he only believes to be just, true, and worthy of respect, that which so seems to him, without conceding to his opponent any possibility of being right. . . .

The real blame for this particular Cuban revolution should be laid at the door of those misguided Cubans who courted the United States ambassador and so humiliated themselves. "Their humiliation would not matter were it not for the fact that thereby they also humiliated Cuba".

This book is one that should be read by the Americas—not so much for its recounting of any specific events or beliefs as for the betrayal of highly significant patterns of thought. This reviewer knows of no better key to the explanation of many a past inter-American misunderstanding, no better forecast for inevitably similar misunderstandings in the future if its revelations are disregarded.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

La Nation Haïtienne. By DANTES BELLEGARDE. (Paris: 1938. Pp. x, 361. 25 francs.)

The purpose of this latest work by the former Haitian minister to France and to the United States, who is at present director of the Lycée Petion in Port-au-Prince, is stated by the author in his preface as follows:

Foreign Friends [of Haiti] have often been astonished to find no Haitian work which, while giving a general picture of Haiti and its people, will permit the reader to become objectively acquainted with them.

In attempting to fill this gap M. Bellegarde makes no pretense of having added to the facts already known. He has, however, in the opinion of this reviewer succeeded admirably in the task that he assigned himself.

The first part of the work is devoted to a description of the country and the origins of the people. The second part, of some one hundred twenty pages, gives the history of the country to the American occupation in 1915. The third part is an analysis of present conditions

with special emphasis upon education which the author who was minister of public instruction from 1918 to 1921 is eminently qualified to discuss. In many respects this is the most valuable part of the study. The fourth part portrays the religious beliefs of the people and the rôle of the Protestant and Catholic churches.

La Nation Haïtienne may well be the work sought by the editors of the national histories of the Hispanic American nations. Some revision would be necessary, especially the inclusion of the history of the American occupation. In the meanwhile, M. Bellegarde has written an authoritative, sufficiently documented study that is valuable to the student of Hispanic American history and to the general reader. Maps, numerous photographs, and an adequate bibliography enhance the value of this book which is written in the liquid style that has made the author one of the best known speakers in many international gatherings.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN.

Atlanta University.

List of Books printed 1601-1700 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America. By CLARA LOUISA PENNEY. (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1938. Pp. xxvi, 972. \$2.00.)

This thick volume continues the *List of Books Printed Before 1601 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America* by the same compiler published by the Society in 1929. Both volumes constitute admirable guides to the location and description of many hitherto obscure items and they are of great value to bibliographers as ready references to books printed in various parts of the world before 1700 dealing with the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula.

The several thousand unnumbered items contained in this volume are arranged alphabetically by the author if known or by title or origin. The full title of each reference is given, together with the name of the printer and the place of publication when known. The actual or approximate date of publication is given in each case. No indication, however, is offered as to the size of the volumes or the number of pages. Dates for author's lives have not been indicated. Wherever possible the equivalent of initials and pseudonyms has been recorded when known. When the source of the Society's copies is known this is given, and references are made to 257 bibliographical sources of information listed at the beginning of the work.

There are two appendices. The first is entitled "Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books not included in list of books printed before 1601" (pages 697-709). The second appendix is called "A check list of Hispanic printing sites and printers 1468?-1700 with, thereunder, such examples of their output as are to be found in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America; followed by extra-peninsular presses, . . ." (pages 711-938). This catalog of Hispanic printers with specimens of their work, so far as the reviewer is aware, is unique and constitutes a most welcome contribution of special assistance to persons desiring to identify certain imprints by place, publisher, and date of printing. The index (pages 939-972) lists printers, presses, publishers, and sellers of Hispanic books through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and indicates those not represented in the library of the Hispanic Society. In every respect the volume is worthy of wide use.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

NOTES AND COMMENT

RED CROSS PROGRESS IN HISPANIC AMERICA

The value of the Red Cross and its services is being increasingly demonstrated in Spanish American countries. Modern hospitals and dispensaries, flying ambulances, sanitary first aid stations with trained operatives, nurses' schools, and many other activities are now established under Red Cross sponsorship in most Hispanic American countries where formerly such necessities were few and far between.

Reports from the south bring particular news about the Red Cross with periodic regularity. These are encouraging, both as a reflection of the interest that is being taken in the Red Cross movement, as well as of the constant progress that is being made.

From the Dominican Republic comes a report of the building of a children's hospital at Ciudad Trujillo, furnished with the most up-to-date medical equipment. Other reports also emphasize the increasing interest that is being displayed in child welfare.

For instance, in Bogotá, Colombia, the Red Cross during one year distributed more than 119,000 milk rations to mothers for their infants. During the same year, the dispensary maintained by the Red Cross treated more than 65,000 children. From Panama, comes the report of serving some 41,000 meals in the children's canteen during a six month period, while the pre-school clinic of the Panama Red Cross examined 3,234 children, weighed about 8,000, vaccinated some 1,500 against diphtheria, in addition to furnishing thousands of medical prescriptions.

In Guatemala, a surgical service has been established in connection with the Red Cross Clinic. In a single month, the service handled 124 surgical cases, and gave a total of 333 vaccinations and injections of various types. Clinic and hospital service of a similar nature has been established in virtually every other country south of the Rio Grande by National Red Cross societies.

These are now endeavoring to spread their benefits over the entire territories which they represent. In a number of countries, much of the hinterland is comparatively undeveloped, frequently inhabited by Indians whose ideas concerning treatment of the sick are generally

tinged with strong elements of superstition. The societies, in countries where such conditions prevail, are endeavoring to expand Red Cross service so that eventually it will be available everywhere.

Red Cross societies throughout the world are banded together in two international organizations: the League of Red Cross Societies, with headquarters in Paris, and the International Red Cross Committee, with headquarters at Geneva. Through the channels provided by these two agencies, humanitarians the world over work together for the common good of everyone.

Red Cross membership is voluntary. Its services to humanity are provided in a spirit of friendship for, and love of, our fellow beings. Each year during Roll Call, which begins Armistice Day and ends at Thanksgiving, the American Red Cross makes its plea for members for the coming year. The greater the number of its members, the more effective will be Red Cross service, for membership dues finance all its activities.

THE EQUINE STRATEGY OF CORTÉS¹

Cortés in the conquest of Mexico used his horses for many things besides transportation. At every opportunity he would utilize them to further his designs, either by intimidating the natives or inspiring his soldiers.

When he arrived on the mainland he had a colt which Juan Sedeño's brown mare had foaled on board ship.² During their stay at a hostile Indian village he made the mare neigh by taking the colt away from her. The Indians, hearing the horse neighing in the courtyard, asked what ailed the fearful *Tequanes*, as they called the animals. Cortés told them that the mounts were angry because he had not punished the Indians severely enough for making war on the Christians. The natives immediately ordered many cotton cloths for the horses to lie on and fowls for them to eat, so that their anger might be appeased.

¹ The following paper was written in the now famous "Round Table" seminar of Dr. H. E. Bolton of the University of California. See also THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVII, No. 4 (November, 1937), 525-532; *South-west Review*, XXIII, No. 2 (January, 1938), pp. 184-189; and the *Western Horseman*, III, No. 1 (January-February, 1938), pp. 6-30, for other items.

² Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (México: García, 1904; 2 vols.), I, 66.

Another time, when in a precarious position, Cortés utilized his horses in an old trick. This occurred when he was camped by the River of Grijalva, in the province of Tabasco. Bernal Díaz del Castillo tells the story in this fashion:

As Cortés was in all a very clever man, he said, laughing, to us soldiers who happened to be in his company, "Do you know, gentlemen, it appears to me these Indians have a great fear of our horses. They really think they are the ones who make war upon them, and the same with the cannon. I have an idea which will further this belief. Let's take Juan Sedeño's mare, who foaled the other day in the ship, and tie her here where I am. Then, we'll take Ortiz the musician's horse, who is *muy rijoso*, and let him smell the mare. After he has scented her we will lead them apart so that the *caciques* [Indian chiefs] who are coming will not hear them until they arrive and are here talking to me". We did this, just as he commanded, and the stallion scented the mare in Cortés's quarters. We also loaded a cannon, as ordered, with a large ball and a goodly charge of powder.

It was about noon when forty *caciques* arrived, in friendly manner and wearing their rich garments. Saluting Cortés and the rest of us, they covered us with perfume and asked our pardon for what they had done, saying that in the future they would be good. Cortés responded somewhat slowly, as though angry, through Aguilar, our interpreter. He told them how, again and again, he had spoken for peace, how they were to blame, and ought to be put to death. However, they were servants of the great king and emperor, Don Carlos, who had sent us to that place, ordering us to help and favor all who would enter his services. If they were disposed as they said they were, we would take this course, but if they were not, some of the *Tepusque*, as they called the cannon, would jump out and kill them. The *Tepusques* were mad because of the war made on us in the past. Cortés then secretly gave a sign to fire the cannon, which was loaded, and it thundered through the hills. As it was midday and very quiet it made a tremendous noise. When they heard it, the *caciques* were terrified. Since they had never heard anything like it they believed what had been told them. Cortés then advised them, through Aguilar, to fear not, for he had given orders they were not to be harmed.

At that instant they brought the horse, which had scented the mare, and tied him near. As the mare was tethered at the same place where Cortés and the *caciques* were talking, the stallion looked at them and then, scenting the mare, began to paw the ground, roll his eyes and neigh, wild with excitement. The *caciques*, thinking he was roaring at them, were petrified with fear. When Cortés saw that the ruse had worked, he arose from his seat, went to the steed, and commanded two servants to take him away. He then informed the Indians he had told the horse not to harm them, since they had come for peace and were friendly.*

Between these men and their mounts there was the strongest sense of kinship. Their horses were, as Cortés himself reiterated, their com-

* Díaz del Castillo, *op. cit.*, I, 96-97.

panions and their salvation. In the following incident we get a glimpse of the relationship between these intrepid men and their faithful horses.

Cortés, amid the strain of war, politics, and administration, had little time to write to his king and emperor about his horses, but on those few occasions when he did we discern more of the character of this conqueror than we could perhaps find in any other existing record. When telling of the siege of Mexico in his third letter, he writes as follows:

Our people were in no danger that day, except during the time when we left the ambush. Some horses collided and a man fell from his mare. She galloped off toward the enemy, who severely wounded her with arrows. When she saw the bad treatment she was receiving, though badly hurt she came back to us. That night she died. Although we felt her death deeply, for the horses and mares were our salvation, our grief was less because she did not die in the hands of the enemy, as we had feared would be the case.⁴

As Graham says, Cortés looked on the mare as a friend and companion, and therefore was thankful that the last words she would hear spoken would be in the tongue she had heard, and no doubt in a vague way understood, since the day she had been foaled.

Francisco López de Gómara recounts a very interesting story concerning a vision seen by the conqueror's men. Cortés, according to Gómara, when he heard of the vision, used it as a means to encourage his men to fight. The apparition appeared as a mounted man, in the form of San Diego, the patron saint of Spain. This presence drove back the fighting natives and won the battle for the Spaniards. Bernal Díaz out and out ridicules Gómara on this point, saying that although he took part in the battle he did not see the vision. In fact, he continues, he had never heard the story until he read about it afterward in Gómara. Then, with the thinly veiled sarcasm the man of action so often has for the man of letters, added that perhaps he was too great a sinner to be allowed to see the glorious apostle.

Gómara's account of the battle and the appearance of San Diego is most interesting. He speaks of the combat, and of the horde of natives who crowded the Spaniards till

they were in difficulties and imminent danger, since they had no room to use their artillery or cavalry to open a way through the enemy.

⁴ Pascual de Gayangos, *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernán Cortés* (Paris, 1866), p. 245.

While hard pressed and about ready to seek flight, Francisco Morla appeared on a dapple-grey horse and attacked the Indians so they were thrown into disorder.

The Spaniards, thinking Cortés had come up [with the cavalry] and as there was now room, charged the enemy and several were slain. Then the horseman left and the Indians threw themselves upon the Spaniards and pressed them as closely as before.

The horseman returned immediately and joined our men. He attacked the enemy and made them retreat. Our men utilized the advantage given them by the man on horseback and hurled themselves on the natives, killing and wounding many. As soon as the tide turned the horseman left and was seen no more.

As the Indians did not for a while see the horseman who caused them to flee in terror and confusion, thinking him a centaur, they again attacked with heathen audacity, treating them [the Spaniards] worse than before. The horseman reappeared now for the third time and dispersed the Indians, terrified and suffering losses. At the same time, the foot soldiers attacked, wounding and killing.⁵

Gómara, up to this point in the story, implies that the horseman was Francisco Morla on a dapple-grey horse. But Morla's horse was dark brown, so if that is who it was, he must have been riding the horse of either Hernández Portocarrero, Velásquez de León, or Diego de Ordás, as they were the only men amongst the cavalry whose horses were grey.⁶ Gómara continues:

Cortés then arrived. . . . They asked whether it [the man on horseback] had been one of his men. Cortés replied it was not, as he had not been able to get there sooner. So they concluded it was St. James the Apostle, patron saint of Spain.

Thereupon Cortés cried, "Forward, comrades, for God is with us and the glorious St. Peter".⁷

Saying this he and his men dashed among the enemy, driving them before, out of the maze of ditches to a place where the lances could be freely used. . . . The Indians . . . fleeing into the dense forests, scattered in all directions. . . .

Everyone declared they had seen the rider on the dapple-grey, three different times fighting against the Indians, as has been stated above, and that it was St. James our patron saint.⁸

Díaz del Castillo's account of the same battle does not tally with Gómara's. The former says that during the fierce battle "Cortés and

⁵ Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de México* (Anvers, 1554), fol. 32b.

⁶ Robert Moorman Denhardt, "The Truth About Cortés's Horses", in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVII, No. 4 (November, 1937), 529.

⁷ This might seem to indicate that Cortés was confusing Saint James and Saint Peter. Perhaps, since San Pedro was his patron, he felt he could not diplomatically commend San Diego for the assistance. So by giving the credit to God and at the same time mentioning the name of his own patron saint, he forestalled any future difficulties.

⁸ Gómara, *op. cit.*, fol. 33a.

his horsemen did not appear, although we wished for him and were afraid some disaster had overtaken him".⁹ They fought most of the day with no help but their own arms. He says, toward the end of the account of the battle,

Just at this time we saw our horsemen, and as the mass of Indians were wildly attacking us they did not see them approaching the rear, and as the ground was level and the horsemen were good, with horses well trained and fine gallopers,¹⁰ they soon encountered the natives and speared them as they desired.

This is a typical Díaz del Castillo statement—"speared them as they desired". It tells so much. In another place he says, "as was convenient at the time". Díaz del Castillo was almost without a particle of humor, but so human. Another laconic sentence: "After the battle we seared the wounds of ourselves and our horses with the grease we took from a fat Indian". Díaz del Castillo continues:

As soon as the horsemen dismounted in the shade of some trees and huts we returned thanks to God for bringing us a victory. As it was the day of *Nuestra Señora*, we afterward gave to the town the name Santa María de la Victoria, because of the great victory won on Our Lady's day.

Díaz specifically differs with Gómara concerning the appearance of the vision of Saint James.

It may be as Gómara says, that the glorious apostles Señor San Diego y Señor San Pedro came to our aid and I being only a sinner was not worthy to see them. What I saw was Francisco Morla on a brown horse who came up with Cortés . . . there were in our company over four hundred soldiers including Cortés himself, and many other gentlemen and it [the vision] would have been talked about.¹¹

So we have the two sides of the argument. Possibly Gómara was a little skeptical of the story as told, and so added Morla at the start to appease doubters. On the other hand, he may have had a failing common to story tellers, and embroidered the tale as he progressed by bringing in the saints.

Whether it was Saint James, Morla, or just a yarn, is now of little import, but it does illustrate the many ways the horses were utilized and likewise the adaptability of the conqueror.

A stratagem of vital importance to Cortés's ultimate success was happily executed during the battle with Narváez. Cortés was no sooner in Tenochtitlán than he heard that Narváez, with the largest expedition so far collected in the new world, had been sent from

⁹ Díaz del Castillo, *op. cit.*, I, 92.

¹⁰ *Muy rrebueltos y corredores.*

¹¹ Díaz del Castillo, *op. cit.*, I, 94.

Cuba by Velásquez to capture and take him back to the islands in disgrace. Cortés, with the cleverness so typical of him, not only defeated Narváez but won over the men, so that he was reinforced with new soldiers and eighty¹² much-needed horses. Tápia¹³ gives us the reason for Cortés's otherwise astounding victory over the superior force, and a reason most historians leave out. Cortés had the latigos of the saddles of Narváez's men cut practically in two, so that when the battle started the cavalry soon became footmen, and in the dark, Cortés and his few soldiers came away with the victory.

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Fondo de Cultura Económica was founded in 1934 by a group of professors and students of the University of Mexico for the purpose of fostering interest in, and study of, social problems. In furtherance of this ideal, under the direction of Daniel Cosío Villegas and a governing board, it has begun the publication of a series of translations, which already includes a number of important titles. Among these are the following:

- Laski, Harold J., *Karl Marx* (translated from English by Antonio Castro Leal), 1935, pp. 104.
- Shea, William P., *El Dólar Plata* (*Silver Dollars*, translated by Salvador Novo), 1935, pp. 80.
- Dobb, Maurice, *Una Introducción a la Economía* (*Introduction to Economics*, translated by Antonio Castro Leal), 1937, pp. 132.
- Cassel, Gustavo, *Pensamientos Fundamentales en la Economía* (*Fundamental Thoughts in Economics*, translated by Salvador Novo), 1937, pp. 160.
- Sée, Henri, *Origen y Evolución del Capitalismo Moderno* (*Les Origines du Capitalisme Moderne*, translated by Macedonio Garza), 1937, pp. 256.
- Birnie, Arthur, *Historia Económica de Europa de 1760 a 1933* (*Economic History of Europe*, translated by Daniel Cosío Villegas), 1938, pp. 376.
- Henderson, H. D., *Oferta y Demanda* (*Supply and Demand*, translated by Daniel Cosío Villegas), 1938, pp. 286.

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¹² Oviedo says 100. The early chroniclers seemed to have a little difficulty with numbers. Even for Cortés's expedition they do not all agree with Díaz del Castillo and Cortés, who both said they carried sixteen. Antonio de Herrera says there were fifteen horses on the expedition. Andrés de Tápia (another one of the party) says there were thirteen. The statement in the deposition at Villa Segura gives the number as eighteen, and in *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii* we find twenty-four given as the number taken.

¹³ Andrés de Tápia, *Relación*, in García Icazbalceta, *Colección de Documentos* (México, 1866; 2 vols.), II, 590.

The long standing boundary dispute between Nicaragua and Honduras has recently occasioned the publication of numerous interesting pamphlets. *El Laudo de Su Majestad Alfonso XIII frente al Derecho Internacional, Examen y Refutación de un Dictamen Unilateral*, by Manuel Pasos Arana and Emilio Álvarez (Imprenta La Tribuna, San José, Costa Rica, 1938, pp. 36) and *Límites de Nicaragua*, by Dr. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro (Imprenta Lehmann, San José, Costa Rica, 1938, pp. 130) present the viewpoint of Nicaragua upon the subject. The first of these is a critical examination and "refutación" of *El Laudo de Su Majestad Alfonso XIII frente al Derecho Internacional*, a brief prepared for the Honduran government by the Salvadorian jurists, Manuel Castro Ramírez, Reyes Arrieta Rossi, and Enrique Córdova (Tegucigalpa, 1937, pp. 38). The second traces the historic and geographic formation of Nicaragua during the Spanish conquest and colonization from 1502 to 1821.

Defending the position of Honduras, in addition to the title mentioned above, there have been published by the secretary of foreign relations of Honduras, at Tegucigalpa, the following pamphlets dealing with various aspects of the problems: *Límites definitivos entre Honduras y Nicaragua*, by Antonio Bermúdez M. (Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1938, pp. 112); *Nicaragua ante el Laudo del Rey de España*, by Dr. Romulo E. Durón (Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1938, pp. 52); *Validez y Fuerza obligatoria del Laudo de S. M. El Rey de España*, by Luis Anderson (1938, pp. 34); *El Laudo de S. M. el Rey de España Don Alfonso XIII, que dirimió la Controversia de Límites entre Honduras y Nicaragua, no es contradictorio ni ofrece Dudas para su Ejecución*, by José Augusto Padilla (Tip. Aristón, 1938, pp. 16); *Manifiesto de la Sociedad de Abogados de Honduras a los Pueblos del Continente Americano y a sus Entidades jurídicas con Motivo del Incidente provocado por el Gobierno de Nicaragua con sus Pretensiones sobre el Territorio de Honduras* (Talleres Tipográficos, Aristón, 1937, pp. 119); and *Algunos Documentos sobre la Soberanía y Posesión ejercidas por Honduras en el Territorio de la Mosquitia que le disputa Nicaragua, 1894-1937* (Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1938, pp. 110).

In addition, Honduras has reprinted arguments and documents in defense of its side of the litigation, as follows: *Límites entre Honduras y Nicaragua, Alegato presentado a Su Majestad Católica el Rey de España en Calidad de Arbitro* (Madrid, 1905, New York, 1938, pp.

254); *Límites entre Honduras y Nicaragua, Réplica al Alegato de Nicaragua presentada a Su Majestad Católica el Rey de España en Calidad de Árbitro* (2nd edition, Papelería e Imprenta Calderón, 1938, pp. 196); *Algunos Documentos importantes sobre los Límites entre Honduras y Nicaragua* (New York, 1938); and *Límites entre Honduras y Nicaragua, Incidente suscitado por Nicaragua* (2nd edition, Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1938, pp. 155).—R. R. H.

The Instituto de Estudios Americanistas of the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina, is represented by Dr. Enrique Martínez Paz, director, Dr. Raúl A. Orgaz and Dr. Carlos R. Melo, members, Dr. J. Francisco V. Silva, secretary, Sr. Luis Roberto Altamira, in charge of publications, and Sr. José R. Peña, assistant. The Instituto may be addressed at Trejo y Sanabria, 242, Córdoba, Argentina. This organization has published materials as follows:

Acto inaugural y antecedentes (Córdoba, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1937, pp. IV, 46).

Un Episodio eclesiástico de Cuyo (1824), by Enrique Martínez Paz (Córdoba, etc., 1938, pp. 66, with 6 plates of facsimiles). This relates to the mission of Monseñor Juan Muzi who was sent as vicar apostolic to Chile. The narrative has 19 supporting documents.

Echenique, Autor de las "Laudationes", by Ricardo Rojas (Córdoba, etc., 1938, pp. 30). The work entitled *Laudationes Quinque* was the first book printed in the Imprenta Monserratense, which was established in the city of Córdoba del Tucumán in 1766. Its authorship was attributed to José Manuel Peramás, S. J., by Guillermo Furlong, S. J. (see following title), but Sr. Rojas states that it was really the work of Bernabé Echenique of Córdoba. The publication is a good bibliographical study.

Cinco Oraciones laudatorias en honor del Dr. D. Ignacio Duarte y Quirós (Córdoba, etc., 1937, pp. XIV, 278). This is No. I of "Colección de la Imprenta Jesuítica del Monserrat". It is preceded by a notice by Dr. Enrique Martínez Paz and an introduction by Guillermo Furlong, S. J., and is a facsimile edition of the original Latin with translation into Spanish by Professor Benito Ochoa. The Instituto plans to publish in facsimile all known works issued from the ancient Jesuit press of the Colegio de Monserrat. Both the notice and the Introduction contain data of value. It was in this latter that Guillermo Furlong attributed the authorship of the *Laudationes Quinque* to José Manuel Peramás, S. J.

A new summer art school has been established at San Miguel de Allende in Guanajuato, Mexico, under the auspices of the Centro de Estudios Pedagógicos e Hispano-Americanos de México. The Centro was founded on September 6, 1937, by Dr. Salomón de la Selva "to

prepare college graduates as teachers of Romance Languages and especially of Hispanic American History". It is partially supported by the government of Mexico, and scholarships are provided not only to Mexicans but to foreign students as well. The summer school should be noted attentively by students as it may prove an important cultural movement. During the first session of the new entity, Diego Rivera and other famous Mexican artists participated, and lectures were given by various well qualified men including Dr. Salomón de la Selva and Dr. Felipe Cossio del Pomar.

An historical congress was held at Bogotá from July 24 to August 5, 1938. Delegates were especially invited from Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela, as well as members of the Academia Colombiana de Historia, and a representative from each of the departmental academies and centers of history functioning in Colombia. Members of the bodies represented at the Congress were allowed to present papers through their delegates. The special object of the congress was to determine the minimum requirements which should be demanded in the teaching programs of each country formerly included in Great Colombia. All papers presented are to be published by the Academia Colombiana de Historia.

At the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the New England Modern Language Association held at Boston, May 14, 1938, Sr. Enrique Naranjo Martínez, long consul of Colombia in Boston, delivered an address on "El Idioma Español y el Background histórico Español". In this he sketched something of the Spanish conquest and the diffusion of the Spanish language in what came to be Spanish America. Sr. Naranjo has been active in furthering cultural bonds between the two Americas.

The second annual field mass was celebrated at the Old Spanish Mission near New Smyrna, Florida, on March 20, 1938. The Old Mission is now the property of the Florida State Historical Society. That Society has published eleven works, mostly from the old Spanish historical records.

The activities of the Pan American Union are increasing continually. Not only are the results of these activities shown in the regular work of the Union, but in its publications, both printed and

mimeographed. Among the latter are many items, more or less ephemeral, but of value. One of these items which has a permanent value is *The Pan American Book Shelf*, which lists books received in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Union. The initial number of this appeared in March, 1938, and it is now (August) in its sixth number. It is a bibliographical tool of value. In addition to the listing of books are notes not found elsewhere. The Union is to be congratulated in inaugurating this publication.

The publications of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation keep one in touch with many matters of cultural interest. Among these publications are the monthly *Panorama*—a *monthly Record of Inter-American cultural Events* and its counterparts in Spanish (*Correo*) and in Portuguese (*Correio*). The short résumés of current events are excellent. The same division has published also as a supplement to *Correio* (No. 2), *Dois Pontos de Vista sobre a Função da Universidade moderna* (also presumably English and Spanish editions of the same material exist), in which are reproduced articles by President Conant of Harvard and Dr. George F. Zook, president of the North American Educational Council; also a Memorandum by Concha Romero James entitled *The Pan American Union in the Field of Inter-American Cultural Relations* (June 1, 1938).

Other mimeographed materials emanate from the Statistical Division of the Union relative to the foreign trade of various Hispanic American countries.

Inasmuch as the proofs for John H. Parry's contribution "The Ordinances of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia" (which had to be sent to England) had not been returned when the August issue of this REVIEW went to press, several corrections indicated by Mr. Parry could not be made. These are as follows: P. 368, line 5 from top, insert comma after "Mexico"; p. 366, note 12, line 3 of note, "Quinones" should read "Quiñones"; p. 368, the signature of the author should read "Parry" (this correction should be made also on the contents page); p. 368, line 4, text from bottom, "ecelando" should read "y celando"; p. 369, line 7 from top, insert comma after "Compostela"; p. 370, line 22 from top, "lleven" should read "lleve"; p. 371, line 17 from top, insert comma after "hubiere".

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

NOTES ON RECENT ITEMS IN THE FIELD OF HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

The eminent anthropologist and ethnologist Karl Sapper has made a most important contribution to the cultural life of pre-Colombian America in his latest work, *Geographie und Geschichte der Indischen Landwirtschaft* (Berlin, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 1936). Among the subjects discussed are the influence of climate, systems of agriculture, relations of food supply to population, domestication of plants and animals, modes of living, and the like.

The Biblioteca Balmes of Barcelona has for some years been issuing the annual *Analecta Sacra Tarconensia*, a publication in Catalan dedicated to a discussion of religious problems in the broadest acceptation of the term. Of special interest is the section of the *Analecta* published as a sort of appendix with the title of *Bibliographia hispanica de ciencias historico-ecclesiasticas*. In theory, this appendix covers all the works published during the year in question dealing with the history of Spain and Spanish America. The bibliography for 1934, published in 1936, contains over three hundred references, some of which are likely to escape the attention of students in the United States. The address of the Biblioteca Balmes is Barcelona, Duran i Bas, 11.

One of the services rendered by the valuable bi-monthly *Revista Americana* of Buenos Aires is the publication of works out of print or difficult of access. A case in point is the inclusion in the numbers for September-October and November-December (1936) of pertinent sections of Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna's *Páginas de mi diario durante tres años de viaje* (originally published in 1856 with the title of "La Argentina en el Año 1855"). The future Chilean historian, who was at the time only twenty-one, gives a graphic account of conditions in Argentina during the years immediately following the overthrow of Rosas. The work has an excellent introduction by the editor of the *Revista*, Sr. V. Lillo Catalán.

The well-known Argentine historian, Dr. Henrique de Gandía, has added to his long list of books, monographs, and articles a delightful *Historia de los Piratas en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1936).

Dr. Juan B. Terán, former rector of the University of Tucuman, and member of the Academia Argentina de Letras, has enriched Argentine historiography by an excellent biographical study entitled *José María Paz* (Buenos Aires, Cabaut & Cía, 1936). The activities of this important but frequently misunderstood figure are for the first time adequately set forth. Dr. Terán has drawn upon much hitherto unused manuscript material. It is a model biography of its kind.

Sr. Ricardo R. Caillet Bois, professor of history in the Escuela Superior de la Guerra and a member of the staff of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires, has written two studies of exceptional interest. The first, with the title of *La Santa Alianza* (Buenos Aires, Taller Gráfico de la Escuela Superior de Guerra, 1935), though traversing familiar ground, presents a number of new and arresting points of view. The second monograph, *La Misión Álvarez Tomás* (Buenos Aires, Imprenta y Casa Editora Coni, 1936) was originally published in the review *Humanidades*. It deals with the important diplomatic mission of Álvarez Tomás to Santiago in 1826 and is based almost entirely upon hitherto unused manuscript material.

The Argentine lawyer and publicist Dr. Norberto Piñero has assembled a number of his speeches, articles and "conversations" under the title of *Problemas Internacionales* (Buenos Aires, Librería Menéndez, 1936). The "conversations" are presented in the form of dialogues with friends of the writer belonging to the Argentine branch of the International Law Association. They deal with such topics as the Chaco War, boundary controversies, disarmament, and the like.

The name of the eminent Argentine jurist, Dalmacio Vélez Sarsfield, has long been known to all students of South American history but few have had the opportunity of gaining a first-hand acquaintance with his writings. This need has in part been met through a reprint of his most important *Escritos y Discursos*, preceded by an "Elogio" by E. Martínez Paz and an essay entitled "La estirpe intelectual de Vélez" by Enrique Ruíz Guiñazú (Buenos Aires, L. J. Rosso, 1936).

In 1846, a North American by the name of John Anthony King published his *Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic*, a work giving many interesting side-lights on Rosas. The book, long out of print, has been translated by Sr. Juan Heller with the title of *Veinticinco años en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, A. J. Rosso, 1936).

One of the outstanding events in Argentine historiography of the last few years was the publication in 1935 of the four-volume work on the life and activities of San Martín by José Pacífico Otero. This enterprising scholar will also be remembered as the founder and president of the Instituto Sanmartiniano. Sr. Otero died in 1937 but left a certain amount of unprinted manuscripts. This valuable material is now being rendered available. As the first volume of its library the Instituto has just published *San Martín Guerrero y Argonauta* (Buenos Aires, 1938). In this posthumous work, Sr. Otero set forth in detail the activities of San Martín in Chile and his coöperation with O'Higgins in the conquest of Perú.

Although a half century has elapsed since the death of Sarmiento, interest in the "school master president" continues unabated. The latest contribution to the biography of this remarkable man is from the pen of the late Porfirio Farina Núñez and is entitled *El Maestro de Sarmiento: Ignacio Firmin Rodríguez* (Mendoza, Dirección General de Escuelas, 1938).

An extremely useful work on social legislation in Brazil has been issued by the Minister of Labor, Industry and Commerce under the title of *Législation Sociale Brésilienne* (Rio de Janeiro, Departamento de Estatística e Publicidade, Ministerio do Trabalho, Industria e Commercio, 1937).

Among the Portuguese litterateurs who have particularly interested themselves in things Brazilian is Sr. João de Barros, one of the few corresponding members of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. He has summarized his impressions of Brazil in a delightful work, chiefly literary but in part historical, entitled *Alma do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, "A Noite" Editora, 1937). Among the subjects treated are "Os Portugueses no Brasil", "Ambientes", "Intelligencia e Cultura".

Biographies of Benjamin Constant, regarded by many as the intellectual father of the Brazilian republic, continue to multiply. The latest of these works is by Dr. Ivan Monteiro de Barros Lins, *Benjamin Constant 1836-1891*, written in 1936 during the centenary of his hero's birth (Rio de Janeiro, J. R. de Oliveira). The author is a professor of education and philosophy in Rio de Janeiro. He has a number of excellent books to his credit including a life of Lope de Vega and an introduction to the study of philosophy.

The *coup d'état* of November 10, 1937, naturally resulted in the issuance of a certain amount of propaganda material. Among the pamphlets of interest to students of contemporary Brazil may be mentioned: R. de Monte Arraie, *Terra Redimida*, and *Um Regimen e um Chefe*; Gilberto Amado, *Perfil do Presidente Getulio Vargas*. All these items were published by the government.

Under the somewhat unpromising title of *A Imprensa e a Lei* Dr. Geminiano de França has written a valuable history of the freedom of the press under the various governments of Brazil from colonial days to the present. The volume is No. 19 of the *Biblioteca Juridica Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, A. Coelho Branco Filho, 1936).

The works of the eminent mineralogist, Baron von Eschewege, who visited Brazil in the early nineteenth century, have long been out of print. One of the most important of these, consisting of a diary of a journey from the coast to the mining area undertaken in 1811 has been translated by Snra. D. Lucia Furquim Lehmeyer with the title of *Diario de um Viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Villa Rica, na Capitania de Minas Geraes, no anno de 1811* (São Paulo, Imprensa Official do Estado, 1936).

Those interested in labor legislation in Brazil will welcome the appearance of an excellent treatise on this subject by Sr. W. Niemeyer of the staff of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce, with the title of *Curso de Legislação Brasileira do Trabalho*. The subject is developed topically. After a long introductory chapter on labor conditions during the colonial period, the empire, and the early years of the republic, the author discusses such topics as labor unions, labor contracts, the eight-hour day, women in industry, strikes, lock-outs,

accidents, social security. The preface is from the pen of the eminent sociologist Prof. F. J. Oliveira Vianna. The work is volume two of the excellent *Biblioteca Jurídico-Universitaria* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936).

A valuable but rather depressing work, which however sheds a flood of light on the backwardness and misery of large sections of the interior of Brazil, has been written by Dr. Campanario Manoel de Abreu, *A Medicina no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Barsoi & C., 1936). While the author naturally stresses the lack of hygiene and medical assistance he has much to say regarding social conditions in general. One gains the impression that the brilliant civilization of the coast cities is still something of a façade.

In 1843, a Neapolitan squadron brought to Brazil Princess Thereza Christina Maria, the future bride of Dom Pedro II, who was later to be known as the "Mother of the Brazilians". One of the officers of the Royal Neapolitan Navy, Eugenio Rodríguez, wrote an interesting account of the voyage and described in some detail the social life in the Brazilian court of the time. The book, which possesses considerable importance for the historian, has just been translated from the Italian, and equipped with notes, preface, and illustrations by Gastão Penalvo: *A Viagem da Imperatriz* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1936).

Reference has already been made in these "Notes" to the reminiscences running in the *Jornal do Commercio* of a participant in the great Brazilian naval revolt of 1893-1894. The author, Vice-Admiral Augusto Carlos de Souza e Silva, has at length published his account under the title of *O Almirante Saldanha e a Revolta da Armada* (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 1936). The chapters have as their respective titles: "Antecedents", "Saldanha and the Republic", "Saldanha and Mello", "The Master and Chief", "Between the Revolt and Floriano", "Technical Aspects of the Plan of Mello", "The Political Factors". It is one of the best works which has yet appeared on this critical period in Brazilian history.

Sr. Nuto Sant'Anna, chief of the subdivision dealing with historical documents of the Department of Culture of the Municipality of São Paulo, has published a two-volume work concerning the legends

and customs of this portion of Brazil with the title of *São Paulo Historico* (São Paulo, 1937). The work is calculated to appeal especially to the student of Brazilian cultural history.

One of the few books written in Italian on Hispanic American history appeared in 1937. The author is Gino Doria and the title, *Storia dell' America Latina (Argentina e Brasile)* (Milano, Hoepli). As the title indicates, the work is devoted primarily to the history of the two largest South American countries. Much is said about the participation of Italians in the civil commotions in the Platine Republics and in the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul. A full account is given for instance of the exploits of Garibaldi and his famous wife, Annita.

It will be remembered that in 1938 falls the centenary of the foundation of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro. In anticipation of this event the president of the Institute, Conde de Affonso Celso, appointed a committee to draw up plans for a Third Congress of National History to be held as a part of the celebration. These plans provide for a congress which will meet from October 21 to 28. Participants will consist of the members of the Instituto Historico and of other historical and geographical associations of the country, and invited guests. The titles of some fifty-five theses or themes have been published on which memoirs or articles may be submitted. Chronologically these theses extend from "The first contacts between the Europeans and the inhabitants of the lands discovered by Pedro Alvarez Cabral" to the "Political and administrative organization of Brazil under the Empire and the Republic".

On the occasion of the centenary of the death of the great publicist of the first empire and the regency, Evaristo da Veiga, the *Jornal do Commercio* has published a new edition of the biography by the late Felix Pacheco, *O Publicista da Regencia* (Rio de Janeiro, *Jornal do Commercio*, 1937). Of the various biographies of Evaristo da Veiga thus far published this is probably the best.

The eminent Brazilian writer and jurist-consult, Dr. Rodrigo Octavio, the publication of whose three volumes of *Minhas Memorias dos Outros* were outstanding events in the domains of Brazilian his-

tory and literature, is now writing for the *Jornal do Commercio* a series of "Capitulos suplementares". It is reasonable to expect that these biographical sketches will also appear in book form.

Sr. Alberto Rangel, the well-known Brazilian historian and litterateur, who is now residing in France, has published a delightful and intriguing book with the title of *No Rolar do Tempo* (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 1937). The book is based almost entirely upon material which Sr. Rangel found in the archives of the French Foreign Office. The topics deal with the period of independence and the empire. Throughout, the author has a keen eye for the anecdotal and picturesque. The work supplies a wealth of material which pleasantly fills in the background of more serious events.

A book of some importance, lying in the domain between history and economics, has been written by Sr. Renato Costa under the title of *Ensaio de Historia; Problemas sociaes e economicos* (Porto Alegre, Livraria "O Globo", 1937). The bulk of the essays deal with conditions in Rio Grande do Sul.

On the basis of a methodical journey through some of the lesser known parts of the great interior Brazilian states of Matto Grosso and Goyaz, Dr. Murillo de Campos has written a rather unusual book with the title of *Interior do Brasil; notas medicas e ethnographicas* (Rio de Janeiro, Bossoi & C., 1936). Among the topics discussed are the lives of the *seringueiros* or rubber gatherers of Matto Grosso, notes on the climate and flora of the region, description of Indian tribes, and the like.

Employing the methods rendered famous by Emil Ludwig and Stefan Zweig, Sr. Paulo Rehfeld has written an excellent historical romance called *O amigo de Duclerc* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936). For the student of history the interest of the book lies in the successful efforts of the author to recreate the atmosphere of Rio de Janeiro of the beginning of the eighteenth century when the city was won and lost by the French.

Among the contemporary Brazilian writers who have busied themselves with the imperial period, Sr. Evaristo de Moraes stands in the

first rank. His latest book is called *Da Monarchia para a Republica* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936) and as the title suggests deals with the waning of the monarchical ideal and of the power and influence of Dom Pedro II.

Volume XXXIII (1936) of the *Publicações do Arquivo Nacional* contains a wealth of data on significant topics in Brazilian history. Dr. Alcides Bezerra, the scholarly director of the archives, is the author of all but two of the articles included in the volume. Among the items from Dr. Bezerra's pen may be noted "Aspectos anthropogeographicos da constituição", "Sylvio Romero, o pensador e o sociologo", "A philosophia na phase colonial", and "As seccas na futura constituição". An illuminating survey of the history of gold mining in Brazil is contributed by Sr. Alpheu Diniz Gonçalves, "O ouro onde elle existe e é explorado no Brasil". Finally, there is a reprint of an extremely rare article published by the famous historian Varnhagen in Vienna in 1877 under the title of "A questão do Capital; Maritima ou no Interior".

In 1937, the Brazilian ministry of education and health launched a new series to be known as the *Publicações do Servizio do Patrimonio Historico e Artistico Nacional*. The first number is an illuminating essay by Sr. Gilberto Freyre with the title of *Mucambos do Nordeste*. The brochure is a series of notes on the type of popular dwellings in the more primitive areas in the Brazilian northwest. It is lavishly illustrated with drawings and sketches (Rio de Janeiro, Ministerio da Educação e Saude, 1937).

A valuable contribution to the history of the critical years 1889-1934 has been written by General Hastimphilo de Maura with the title of *De Primeira a Segunda Republica* (Rio de Janeiro, Pongetti, 1936). The author took part in many of the events which he describes and he has inserted in the narrative many letters and telegrams hitherto unknown. Particularly full is the account of the revolution of 1830.

A brief but comprehensive survey of the geographical and social conditions in northeastern Brazil has been prepared by Dr. Agamemnon Magalhães, *O Nordeste Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, Departamento

de Estatística e Publicidade do Ministerio do Trabalho, Industria e Commercio, 1936). An introduction dealing with the physical setting is followed by two long chapters entitled respectively "Habitat" and "Gens". Until recently the author was minister of labor; he is now *interventor* in the state of Pernambuco.

Sr. Affonso de Toledo Bendeira de Mello, Director General of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce, and member of the Council of Administration of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations has made an important contribution to the history of the servile element and its problems in a work entitled *O Trabalho servil no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936). It is one of the best treatises of slavery and abolition in Brazil which we possess. It is illustrated with portraits of leaders of the movement.

In 1741, the English ship *Wager* was shipwrecked on a desert island off the coast of southern Chile. Two of the survivors, after perils and adventures without number, contrived to reach England where they published an account of their exploits. Their book, long out of print, is entitled *A Voyage to the South-Seas in the year 1740-1741 . . . The whole compiled by the Persons concerned in the Facts related, viz. John Buckley and John Cummins, late gunner and carpenter of the "Wager"* (London, 1743). The work includes a long description of Brazil. An excellent Portuguese translation of this comparatively rare item has appeared in Rio de Janeiro with the title of *Uma viagem aos mares do Sul* (Cia. Bresile editora, 1936).

During the past few years, Brazilian history has been enriched by a number of able biographical studies. Perhaps the most notable which appeared in 1937 is that of Wanderley Pinho entitled *Cotegipe e seu tempo* (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional). The activities of this great conservative statesman of the last days of the empire are set forth with unusual competency. It is a work which no student of the period can afford to neglect.

In the *Archivum Historicum Societates Jesu* (VI, 1937), appears an article by Serafim Feite, S. J., entitled "Jesuitas do Brasil na Fundação da Missão de Paraguay (11 de Agosto de 1588)". We have here a valuable and authoritative account of the first steps in

the establishment of the chain of Jesuit missions which eventually extended from southern Brazil far into the area of the present republic of Paraguay. The article constitutes a real contribution to the religious history of colonial Brazil.

Reference has already been made in the columns of this REVIEW to the Primeiro Congresso Afro-Brasileiro held in Recife in 1934. In 1935, was published the first volume of the more significant papers read at this gathering, the first of its kind ever assembled in Brazil. In 1937, appeared a second volume, edited like the first, by the eminent sociologist and anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, entitled *Novos Estudos Afro-Brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira). The work is indispensable to all investigators of social and racial problems in Brazil.

An excellent analysis of present-day social and political conditions in Brazil has been made by Professor Henri Hauser of the Sorbonne, under the title of "Patriotisme Brésilien", in the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, October, 1937, pp. 62-71. The writer spent some time as visiting professor in the Universities of São Paulo and Rio.

The Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul may claim the distinction of having two great historical congresses in as many years. The first of these, held in Porto Alegre in 1936, was part of the celebration of the centenary of the "Revolução Farroupilha", the most serious revolution in the entire history of this portion of Brazil. The second congress, held the following year, was to commemorate the bi-centenary of the foundation of the city of Rio Grande do Sul. Both the Porto Alegre and the Rio Grande do Sul congresses met under the auspices of the Instituto Historico e Geographico do Rio Grande do Sul; both assemblies resulted in the publication of three volumes of proceedings. The title of the first series is: *Anais do Primeiro Congresso de Historia e Geografia Sul Rio-Grandense* (Porto Alegre, Oficinas Gráficas da Libreria do Globo, 3 vols., 1936). The proceedings of the second congress have the same title as those of the first with the substitution of "Segundo" for "Primeiro" and "1937" for "1936". We have then all told six bulky volumes of papers and addresses covering almost every phase of the history of the southernmost state of Brazil.

It will be recalled that one of the two aspirants for the presidency of Brazil in 1937 was the ex-president of the state of São Paulo, Dr.

Armando de Salles Oliveira. A collection of his speeches was published during the summer of 1937 under the title of "*Jornado Democrática (Discursos Políticos)*", (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 1937). These able addresses contain an immense amount of data largely in the fields of finance and education, with especial attention to São Paulo. The work, therefore, is far from being ephemeral in character.

First and last, a great deal has been written on coffee. Of this multitude of books one of the most valuable and interesting is from the pen of Professor Basilio de Magalhães entitled "*O Café, no História, no Folk-lore e nas bellas Artes*" (Rio de Janeiro, Departamento de Estatística e Publicidade, 1937). Though issued as a work of propaganda, it is in reality a scholarly survey of the rôle which coffee has played in the social, intellectual, and political evolution of Brazil from the time of Mello Palheta in the first quarter of the eighteenth century up to the present time. The author is one of the most successful teachers in the secondary schools of Brazil, and is the author of a long list of works of a historical and pedagogical character.

The eminent writer and diplomat, Dr. Helio Lobo, has added to his long list of monographs and other works an admirable life of his father under the title "*Um Varão da Republica, Fernando Lobo*" (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937, pp. 249). The elder Lobo led an active public life during the stirring years of the last days of the empire and the early years of the republic. In the pages of this interesting biography appear such characters as Floriano, Mello Saldanha, Ruy Barbosa, and a host of others of lesser stature. It is one of the notable Brazilian biographies of the year.

In 1937, Sr. Primitivo Moacyr published the second volume of his admirable survey entitled "*A Instrução e o Imperio*" (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937). While the first volume contained a long introduction on education during the colony and up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the new volume carries the history from 1859 to the last days of the empire. The entire work constitutes the best survey of the history of education in Brazil thus far published.

It will be remembered that the year of 1935 marked the centenary of the outbreak of the famous revolution in Rio Grande do Sul. During this and the following year an immense number of books and mon-

ographs appeared. Among the best of these is the *Historia da Republica Rio Grandense 1835-1845* by Dante de Laytano (Pôrto-Alegre, Livraria do Globo, 1936). The "republic" is generally known as the Republic of Piratini. It is the consensus of the bulk of Brazilian historians that though a republic was set up there was no thought of a permanent separation from the empire.

All students of Brazilian cultural history are familiar with the name of Humberto de Campos, a philosopher and man of letters, who died a few years ago. An excellent biography of this remarkable figure was published in 1937 under the title of *Humberto de Campos* (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Minerva) by Dr. Macario de Lemos Picanço, a brilliant young writer who resides in Nicteroi.

The *Revista Militar Brasileira*, which for many years has been, so to speak, the official organ of the Brazilian army, devoted its entire number for August, 1936 (No. 3, Vol. 35), to the history and exploits of the Duque de Caxias. Despite its obvious laudatory tone, the account contains many data of historical value. There are, for instance, articles by a number of leading historians including Max Fleiuss, Gustavo Barroso and Escragnolle Doria, as well as by a number of higher officers in the army.

Among the novelists of contemporary Brazil one of the best known is Dr. Jorge de Lima. His latest excursion into the purely historical field is in the shape of a volume entitled "*Anchieta*" (Rio de Janeiro, Empresa Editora ABC, 1937).

Professor Annibal Mattos, the foremost authority on the history of art and architecture in Minas Geraes, has published a comprehensive work dealing with the entire artistic evolution of Brazil under the title of *Historia da Arte Brasileira*. Vol. I, *Das origens da Arte Brasileira*. Vol. II, *Arte Colonial Brasileira* (Bello Horizonte, Bibliotheca Mineira de Cultura, 1937). With its wealth of illustrations, detailed descriptions of Brazilian monuments, and full bibliography, the work is the most important which has thus far appeared in the field.

The last place where one would perhaps look for a detailed appreciation of one of the greatest figures in contemporary Brazilian lit-

erary, historical, and medical fields is the *Archivos de Medicina Legal e Identificação* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1937). The January number of this excellent medical review is devoted in large part to a survey of the manifold activities of Dr. Afranio Peixoto. While the medical activities of Dr. Peixoto are naturally stressed, there is a vast mass of information on the other fields which he had made peculiarly his own. The work contains also a complete bibliography of the manuscripts and articles of Peixoto, which run well over one hundred.

It has well been said that the period of the regency in Brazil (1831-1840) was a period in which the future statesmen of Brazil gained their apprenticeship. Among the most active public men of the period was Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcellos, who for a time was one of the regents. An adequate biography of this remarkable man is long overdue. This need has been in large part met by Sr. Octavio Tarquinio de Sousa in his work *Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcellos e Seu Tempo* (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 1937). The book contains an excellent bibliography and index. Sr. de Sousa is to be remembered for an excellent work published several years ago entitled "*A Mentalidade de Constituinte*".

Of particular interest is the most recent number of the *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia* (No. 62, 1936), a solid volume of between four and five hundred pages. It will be recalled that in 1936 the intellectuals of Brazil were sharply divided as to whether or not celebrations should be held in honor of Count Maurice of Nassau-Siegen on the third centenary of his arrival in Pernambuco as governor of Dutch Brazil. The article "O tri-centenario de chegada ao Brasil do Principe Mauricio de Nassau" deals with a symposium to which a number of historians and others contributed. Two other leading articles deal respectively with "Tradições do Sul da Bahia", and "Informação ou Descrição Topographica e Politica do Rio de S. Francisco". This last item is a comprehensive and valuable report on the São Francisco basin ordered by Dom Pedro II and originally published in 1847.

Among the notable Brazilian biographies which appeared in 1937 may be mentioned *O Conde de Mota Maia*, by Manuel A. Velho de Mota Maia (Rio de Janeiro, Liv. Francisco Alves)—an authoritative

and delightfully written account of the devoted friend and physician of Dom Pedro II who accompanied him in his exile—*A Vida Gloriosa de Oswaldo Cruz*, by Phocion Serpa (Rio de Janeiro)—useful but laudatory life of the distinguished physician who banished yellow-fever from the capital—*O Visconde de Sinimbú. Sua Vida e sua actuação na política nacional, 1840-1899*, by Craveiro Costa (São Paulo, Cia. Edit. Nac.); *O Marquez de Olinda e seu tempo*, by Luis da Camara Cascudo (São Paulo, Cia. Edit. Nac.); *A gloriosa sotaiana do Primeiro Imperio* by Lemos Brito (São Paulo, Cia. Edit. Nac.)—a life of the famous Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, who played such a prominent part in the so-called “Revolution of the Equator”.

The best economic history thus far published in Brazil is from the pen of Dr. Roberto Simonsen, *Historia economica do Brasil, 1500-1820*, 2 vols. (São Paulo, Cia. Edit. Nac. 1937). It is quite indispensable to all serious students of Brazilian history. The same writer has published a collection of essays and addresses under the title of *A industria em face da Economia Nacional* (São Paulo, Empresa Graphica da “Revista dos Tribunaes”, 1937).

Sr. Francisco Martins dos Santos is the author of a bulky two-volume *Historia de Santos* (São Paulo, Empresa Graphica da “Revista dos Tribunaes”, 1937). Unfortunately the material is ill-digested and poorly arranged.

Among the notable works which appeared in the field of Brazilian history in 1937 is a study by Professor Affonso Arinos de Mello Franco entitled *O Indio Brasileiro e a Revolução Francesa* (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio). As the title suggests, the work deals with the rôle which the somewhat idealized type of the Brazilian Indian played in French thought from the middle of the fifteenth century up to the outbreak of the revolution. An astounding amount of investigation on the part of the author has shown that the theory of natural goodness adumbrated by Montaigne and carried to such fantastic lengths by Rousseau to a considerable extent went back to Brazilian origins. Few more suggestive or stimulating books in the field of Brazilian cultural history have appeared in recent years. Dr. Arinos de Mello Franco is the son of the famous Chancellor Afranio de Mello Franco, and is the author of a number of works in the fields of both Brazilian history and literature.

Sr. Annibal Mattos, perhaps the foremost living authority on the history of art in Brazil, has just published an interesting biography of the eminent geographer of the empire: *O Barão Homen de Mello perante a Historia* (São Paulo, Departamento de Cultura, 1937). The manifold activities—literary, political, and pedagogical—of Mello are set forth in an interesting and convincing manner.

Among the eminent Brazilian publicists who participated in the constituent assembly which gave birth to the Constitution of 1934, none exceeded in zeal Sr. Levi Carneiro. Under the title of *Pela Nova Constituição* have been published Sr. Carneiro's addresses and other contributions in a volume totaling almost nine hundred pages. It appears as Vol. XXII of the *Bibliotheca Juridica Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, A. Coelho Branco Filho, 1937).

Dr. Ramón J. Carcano, the erudite Argentine ambassador to Brazil, has written a charming book entitled "*Volando sobre Siglos*" (Rio de Janeiro, Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1937). The book is designed as a tribute to Argentine-Brazilian solidarity and deals with various episodes in the relations between the two countries from colonial days to the present. The author has to his credit a large number of books and pamphlets dealing with the history of his country.

One of the most thoughtful books published in French on Brazil during recent years is by Professor Henri Tronchon, *Huit Mois au Brésil. Activité sociale. Le décor et la vie. Orientations intellectuelles* (Strasbourg, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, 1937).

A very useful anthology of pertinent extracts of works of Englishmen who visited Brazil during the nineteenth century has been prepared by Sr. C. de Mello Leitão, *O Brasil visto pelos Inglezes* (São Paulo, Cia. Edit. Nac., 1937). Among the writers cited are Wallace, Spruce, Gardner, Luccock, Henderson, Mawe, Walsh, Maria Graham, etc.

The most valuable account of the cultural activities of the Germans in Brazil which has yet come to the attention of the writer of these notes in a hundred-page monograph by Manfred Kuder entitled

"Die deutschbrasilianische Literatur und das Bodenständigkeitsgefühl der deutschen Volksgruppe in Brasilien" in the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, Band X, Heft 4, January, 1937.

Students of Hispanic American history have long been familiar with the important rôle played by the town of Colonia, the Portuguese outpost on the La Plata estuary during colonial days. The subject is exhaustively treated by Jonathas da Costa Rego Monteiro in his *A Colonia do Sacramento, 1680-1777*, 2 vols. (Porto Alegre, Liv. do Globo, 1937).

It will be recalled that several years ago a committee of Argentine and Brazilian intellectuals laid plans for the translation into Spanish or Portuguese, as the case might be, of a number of outstanding works, especially historical, of their respective countries. Up to the present time three such books have been translated from Portuguese into Spanish. They all appear in the series known as the "Biblioteca de Autores Brasileños traducidos al Castellano", and are published in Buenos Aires. The first two noted are translated by Julio E. Payro. The works are as follows: Pedro Calmon, *Historia de la Civilización Brasileña* (1937). This book was originally published in São Paulo in 1933 with the title of *A História da civilização brasileira*. The author is probably the most brilliant of contemporary Brazilian historians. The translation is preceded by a prologue by Dr. Ricardo Levene. The second work is by Oliveira Vianna, *Evolución del Pueblo Brasileño* with a prologue by Dr. Rodolfo Rivarola (1937). The original appeared in São Paulo in 1933 with the title of *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro*. The author is one of the foremost sociologists of Brazil. The third of these translations, which the writer has not yet seen, is a two-volume version of the celebrated historical regional novel by Euclides da Cunha, with the Spanish title of *Los Sertones* (from *Os Sertões*). It was published early in 1938. Owing to its peculiar vocabulary, replete with regional expressions, this is perhaps the most difficult book for foreigners to read in the whole of Brazilian literature. These three translations will prove a god-send to students of Brazilian history whose knowledge of Portuguese is limited.

The tasks of the investigator of things Brazilian has been immensely facilitated through the happy initiative of the dean of the Brazilian press, the century-old *Jornal do Commercio*. Those familiar

with this paper will recall that the Sunday edition publishes regularly signed articles by the foremost authorities in all walks of Brazilian life. Many of these articles are of the utmost value to the historian, but the circumstances of their publication made them almost unavailable. To meet this situation the editors of the *Jornal do Commercio* have decided to publish the most notable of these contributions in the form of a monthly review entitled *Mensario*, beginning with January, 1938. Each number of the review contains between three and four hundred pages. Though paper-covered it is stoutly bound and printed in easily legible type. As time goes on, the collection of the *Mensario* will be the most important single repository of information on all phases of Brazilian life, especially historical, economic, and cultural. The foreign subscription is 100 milréis annually.

A second edition of one of the most valuable of syntheses of Colombian history, *La Personalidad Historia de Colombia* (Bucaramanga, Colombia, edit. M. A. Gómez, 1936), has been published by Professor Carlos García Prada of the University of Washington. The work consists of three chapters: "La Conquista de Colombia", "La Independencia de la República", and "La República y su Porvenir". An appreciative introduction is from the pen of the eminent Colombian educator, Professor L. E. Nieto Caballero. It will be recalled that, while on a recent leave from his academic duties, Dr. García Prada drafted legislation, which was subsequently adopted, for a great national university in Bogotá.

The best introduction to the study of educational problems in Mexico thus far written is from the pen of Dr. George I. Sánchez, *Mexico: A Revolution by Education* (New York, the Viking Press, 1936). The author is director of research of the state department of education of New Mexico. The present study was carried out under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Among the topics considered are the colonial school, the famous cultural missions (*Misiones Culturales*), the so-called socialistic school, teacher training and Indian schools, relations of church and state as affecting education. The foreword is by Professor Rafael Ramírez, the well-known authority on Mexican rural education.

One of the most comprehensive treatises thus far published on the movement toward the political unification of Central America has

been written by the Nicaraguan publicist, Sr. Salvador Mendieta, *Alrededor del problema unionista centroamericano* (2 vols., Barcelona, Tye. Mancei, n. d. but ca. 1936). Volume I has as subtitle "El unionismo en la política transaccionista de Nicaragua", vol. II, "Mundialidad del problema". The author is founder of the Partido Unionista Centroamericano.

As is well known, the past two decades have witnessed a certain renaissance of interest in the Guaraní language as spoken and written in Paraguay. One of the foremost sponsors of this movement, Sr. Narciso R. Colman, has just published a translation of the work *Nandi Ipi Cuera* with the title of *Nuestros Antepasados* (Asunción, Imprenta y Editorial Guaraní, 1937).

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACTIVITIES

Bibliographical activity in the Americas is increasing as is evident from the many publications that reach the libraries in Washington. Among the most helpful of the bibliographical newcomers is *The Pan American Book Shelf* issued by the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union. This mimeographed booklet first appeared in March, 1938, as a monthly and is one of the important activities of the Bibliographical Center of the Union. It is sent free to all who wish copies.

Another bibliographical activity in Washington is represented by the issue, every three months beginning in January, 1938, of *Latin American Books*, "a select list of publications" dealing with history, biography, anthropology, archaeology, art, economic affairs, political affairs, international relations, literature, description and travel, etc. The list contains the price of each item so that individuals and organizations in the United States may order books intelligently with the assistance of this service. The director of this Inter-American Book Exchange is Dr. Raul d'Eça and the headquarters are located at 2700 Que Street, N. W.

In New York City the daily Spanish language newspaper *La Prensa*, which also conducts a book exchange, issued in February, 1938, an eight-page *Suplemento bibliográfico* of value for those persons seeking the latest books printed in Spanish on a variety of subjects.

Another publication in Spanish of great value to American students is the *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, which contains in each issue an extensive list of books under the title "Bibliografía hispano-americana". This periodical is the quarterly publication of the Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos. Besides the regular bibliographical section, the review often contains special bibliographies on a variety of subjects.

In September, 1937, the Mexican government, through its Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad, began to issue a monthly *Revista de Hacienda* which contains bibliographies on economic subjects, political science, etc.

The Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia of Mexico has recently published two periodicals of value to the bibliographer.

In January, 1937, appeared the first issue of the quarterly *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* containing bibliographies, book reviews, etc. The editor is Dr. Alfonso Caso. The second periodical is the *Revista de Historia de América*, published under the direction of Dr. Silvio Zavala. It is a monthly and appeared first in March, 1938. The extensive bibliographical section is compiled by Rafael Heliodoro Valle.

In Cuba, the director of the Municipal Library, Dr. Fermín Peraza y Sarausa brought out in January, 1938, the first number of his *Boletín del Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano* containing recent publications. The work is issued four times a year and contains bibliographical lists and articles of considerable value.

In February, 1938, Dr. Antonio Alemán Ruiz began to issue his mimeographed *Boletín Bibliotécnico*, of chief service to librarians, but of interest to bibliographers also.

Early in 1938 appeared the revived *Revista Bibliográfica Cubana*, covering the period from July, 1936, to December, 1937. Dr. Lorenzo Rodríguez Fuentes is director.

"A general bibliography of Ecuadorian publications for 1936 and 1937", prepared by the National Library of Ecuador, was reissued early in 1938 as No. 1 of the "Bibliographical Series" of the Inter-American Book Exchange, by Dr. d'Eça in Washington.

In Peru, the excellent *Boletín Bibliográfico* began in its April, 1938, issue a series of bio-bibliographies of Peruvian authors.

Several recent special bibliographies have been published. Among these may be mentioned: Henry Putney Beers, *Bibliographies in American History* (New York, 1938); Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Das amerikanische Buchwesen* (Leipzig, 1937); Clara Louisa Penney, *List of Books printed 1601-1700 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1938); Abigail Mejía, *Historia de la Literatura dominicana* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1937); Agustín Mencos Franco, *Literatura guatemalteca en el Período de la Colonia* (Guatemala, 1937); Gustavo Otero Muñoz, *Semblanzas colombianas* (Vol. 1, Bogotá, 1938); Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Historia de la Literatura americana* (Santiago, Chile, 1937); Felipe Teixidor, *Bibliografía yucateca* (Mérida, 1937); and J. F. Sobrinho Velho, *Diccionario bio-bibliographico brasileiro* (Vol. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1937).

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

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MEXICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1936

The *Anuario Bibliografico Mexicano* has ceased publication. For three years this organ was compiled by Felipe Teixidor and published by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. In accordance with my custom, I have brought together the details given below, for I desire thereby to render a new service to scholars who are interested continually in matters pertaining to Mexico and Mexican publications.

It is to be understood that when the name of the city in which a book or pamphlet appears is not mentioned, the city of Mexico is to be inferred.

The best bookstores that can be of service in the city of Mexico are the following:

Porrúa Hermanos, Justo Siera y Argentina.
José Porrúa (Antigua de Robredo), Argentina y Guatemala.
Botas e Hijo Sucr., Bolívar 9.
Central de Publicaciones, S. A., Juárez 4.
Editorial González Porto, Pasaje América.
Marino Coli (Editorial Ecilla), Justo Sierra 54.
Librería Latinoamericana, 5 de Mayo 40.
Demetrio S. García, Perú 68.

Abitia Arzapalo, Alfonso. *Naturaleza del Orden público en el Derecho Internacional Privado y el Materialismo histórico*. Tesis profesional. (s.p.i.). Pp. 14. 23.5 cm.

Universidad Nac. de México. Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales.

Abreu Gómez, Ermilo. See Eguiara y Eguren, Juan José de.

Acta final del Séptimo Congreso Científico Americano. Imp. de la Sría. de Relaciones Exteriores. Pp. 29. 24.5 cm.

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.

Aguilar, Dr. Gilberto F. *Diez cuentos* (s.p.i.). Pp. 168 and an appendix of opinions.

Title page in three colors, by Cabral.

Aguilar, Gilberto F., y Roberto Esquerro Peraza. *Los hospitales de México* (s.p.i.). Pp. 99. 28 x 20 cm.

Title page by Cabral.

Aguirre y Fierro, Enrique. *Poemas desnudos*. Imprenta Moderna "Tipográfica Camionera". Pp. 150. 23 x 17.2 cm.

The frontispiece and designs are by H. Medina Ramos.

Ajofrín, Fr. Francisco, y Olite, Fr. Fermín de. *Diario del viaje que hicimos a México Fray Francisco de Ajofrín y Fray Fermín de Olite, Capuchinos*. Con

una introducción por Genaro Estrada. Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e hijos. Imprenta Mundial. Pp. 38. 23.3 x 17.5 cm.

With an introduction by Genaro Estrada.

Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas. No. 1.

Alba, Pedro de. Rubén Romero y sus novelas populares. Barcelona, Agustín Núñez, impresor. Pp. 40. 24 x 14 cm.

Alcántara, M. C. De las cañas de azúcar y sus variedades. By . . . of the Sociedad Internacional de Tecnólogos Azucareros. Chapultepec, D. F., Imprenta del Instituto de Biología, Casa del Lago. Pp. 22. 19 x 15 cm.

Special collaboration for the Instituto de Biología of the National University of Mexico.

Universidad Nacional de Mexico. Scientific pamphlets published by the Instituto de Biología. No. 24.

Alduvín, Dr. Ricardo D. See Sanso, Aro.

Alessio Robles, Vito. Monterrey en la historia y en la leyenda. Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 266; illustrations, 3 plans, 6 sketches, and 64 advertisement pages. 19 x 12 cm.

Of this work 2,050 copies were printed on ivory paper and 50 on cameo paper, numbered from 1-50.

——— Ramos Arizpe (s.p.i.). 1937. Pp. 24. 15.3 x 11.1 cm.

Biografías populares. Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional. No. 10.

Almada, Pedro J. Con mi cobija al hombro. Autobiografía. Revolucionarios de México. Editorial "Alrededor de América". Sección de México (s.p.i.). Pp. 388. 18 x 12 cm.

Almanaque de "Excélsior" para 1937. Talleres Tipográficos de Excélsior. Pp. XVI, 496, illustrations. 19 x 14.5 cm.

Published by Excélsior Publishing Company.

Ames, Oakes [and others]. The genus *Epidendrum* in the United States and Middle America. By Oakes Ames, F. Tracy Hubbard y Charles Schweinfurth. Cambridge, Mass., Botanical museum. Pp. XI, 233, 1 l. 27 cm.

Andrade, Lic. Manuel. Constitución política Mexicana, con reformas y adiciones. Contiene, además, leyes sobre Enseñanza Primaria y Secundaria.—Imprenta.—Monopolios.—Nacionalidad y Naturalización.—Bienes inmuebles de la Nación.—Reglamentación de las fracciones I y IV del artículo 27 constitucional.—Petróleo.—Amparo y Secretarías de Estado.—Anotadas y concordadas por el . . . etc. Editorial Información Aduanera de México. Pp. 416. 20 x 15.5 cm.

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Loose leaves.

Arce, Juan de. Arte de hablar. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 326. 17.3 x 12 cm.

Arnáiz y Freg, Arturo. Andrés Manuel del Río. Pp. 136, illustrations. 16.4 x 11.3 cm.

Biographical study, awarded prize and published by the Casino Español de México.

(Ashaverus.) Chiguahuapan y Zacatlán, Pue. (Viernes 1o al domingo 3 de mayo de 1936). Excursión 624-B. (2a. Sección). México. (s.p.i.). Pp. 12, and illustrations. 12.7 x 10 cm.

Ashnasy, Dr. Siegfried. El problema agrario de Yucatán. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 114. 24 x 16.5 cm.
2d ed.

Assistance to and salvage of vessels in territorial waters. Treaty between the United States of America and Mexico. Signed at Mexico City, June 13, 1935. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off. Pp. 1, 4. 23 cm.

Treaty series No. 905.

Atl, Doctor. Cuentos de todos colores. Vol. II. Ediciones Botas. (Talleres Gráficos "Acción Moderna Mercantil", S. A., Dr. Licéaga 179.) Pp. 204. 19.8 x 13 cm.

——— La Defensa de Italia en Mexico. Colección de artículos publicados en "Excelsior". Edición de la Colonia Italiana. Impreso en la Editorial "Cultura". Pp. 106, 1 illustration. 23 x 17.3 cm.

——— La difesa d'Italia al Messico. Raccolta degli articoli del Dr. Atl pubblicati in "Excelsior". Traduzione di F. Ostino. Prólogo del Ing. Pedro M. Rodríguez. (s.p.i.). Pp. 106, 1 illustration. 22 x 17.6 cm.

Two editions were made of the collection of articles in this volume: one in Spanish, and the above in Italian, of which 5 copies were printed on "Imperiale" Fabricano paper, 36 on "Netturica" Fabricano paper, and 1,000 on "San Rafael" paper.

——— ¡Oro!, más oro. El mundo lo necesita. Méjico puede dárselo. Ediciones Botas. (s.p.i.). Pp. 196. 19.5 x 12.7 cm.

Azueta, Salvador. Francisco Giner de los Ríos. (s.p.i.). Pp. 16. 15.6 x 11.2 cm.
Biografías populares. Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional. No. 6.

Baeza y Aceves, Leopoldo. Endocrinología y criminalidad. Tesis. (s.p.i.). Pp. 188. 23 x 17 cm.

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Ballesteros G., Mario. La nacionalidad de la mujer casada. Tesis que para obtener el título de Licenciado en Derecho presenta el alumno Mario Ballesteros G. Imprenta Mundial. Pp. II, 202. 24 x 17.7 cm.

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Barajas, Manuel. Bosquejos históricos de la Radiodifusión en México. Su influencia en la educación del pueblo y su importancia como fuente de trabajo. Conferencia. Editorial "Cultura". Pp. 31. 20 x 14.5 cm.

Barbour, Philip Norbourne. Journals of the late Brevet Major Philip Norbourne Barbour and his wife, Martha Isabella Hopkins Barbour, written during the war with Mexico, 1846. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 5, VII-XIV, 17-187, plates.

Beltrán, Neftalí. Veintidós poemas. De . . . (s.p.i.). Editorial Barco. Pp. 62. 30.5 x 23 cm.

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- Benítez Delorme, Carlos. *Geografía humana*. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 296, illus. 23.5 x 17.5 cm.
Comisión Editora Popular. Secretaría de Educación Pública.
- Beteta, Dr. Ramón. *El programa económico y social de México*. (Una controversia). (s.p.i.). Pp. 211. 23.5 x 16.5 cm.
Designs by Máximo Pacheco and Manuel F. Henríquez.
- Beyer, Hermann. *Mayan hieroglyphs: Glyph G8 of the supplementary series*. New Orleans, La. Pp. 247-249.
Reprinted from *American Anthropologist*, XXXVIII, No. 2, April-June, 1936.
- . *The lunar glyphs of the supplementary series at Quirigua*. Pp. 12, illus. 22.7 x 16.2 cm.
Reprinted from *El México Antiguo*, III (11-12). (s.p.i.). (1936?).
- Blom, Frans. *The conquest of Yucatan*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company. New York, The Riverside Press, Cambridge. Pp. XIV, 240, illus. 22 x 15 cm.
- Bojórquez, Juan de Dios. *Champ. Rodolfo Campodónico, autor de "Club Verde"*. Editorial BOI (Bloque de Obreros Intelectuales). Pp. 108. 20 x 15 cm.
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- Burns Davis, Helen. *Life and work of Cyrus Guernsey Pringle*. Burlington, Vt., Free Press Printing Co. Pp. 2, 756, maps. 23 cm.
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- Calleja S. J., P. Diego. *Vida de Sor Juana*. Antigua Librería Robredo, Imprenta Minerva. Pp. 82, 1 illus. 24 x 18 cm.
Annotations by E. Abreu Gómez.
- Campos, Rubén. *La producción literaria de los aztecas*. Compilación de cantos y discursos de los antiguos mexicanos, tomados de viva voz por los conquistadores y dispersos en varios textos de la Historia Antigua de México. Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología. Pp. 464, plates. 26.5 cm.
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- . *A message for 1936*. The following is an excerpt from the New Year's message to the Mexican people by General Lazaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico, delivered on January 1st, 1936. Mexican Consulate Nanking. Mexico City. (s.p.i.). Pp. 14. 21 x 14 cm.

- Carniado, Lic. Enrique. *Alma p rvara. Poemas para ni os.* Editorial Botas. Pp. 132. 19.5 x 12.5 cm.
2d ed.
- Carranc  y Trujillo, Camilo. See Mart , Jos .
- Carre o, Alberto Mar a. *El Excmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Pascual D az y Barreto, Arzobispo de M xico. (Homenajes p stumos).* Ediciones Victoria, Imprenta Manuel Le n S nchez, S. C. L. Pp. 208, illus. 24.5 x 18 cm.
- . *P ginas de historia mexicana (Pages of Mexican History).* Colecci n de obras diversas. Ediciones Victoria, Imp. Manuel Le n S nchez, S. C. L. Pp. 366, illus. 18.9 x 12 cm.
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- and Atanasio G. Saravia. *Un maestro de maestros en el siglo XVI. (El Dr. Blas de Bustamante). Discurso de recepci n en la Academia Mexicana de la Historia, correspondiente de la Espa ola. Respuesta al anterior.* Ediciones Victoria. (s.p.i.). Pp. 134. 19 x 12.5 cm.
Ed. of 100 copies.
- Carrera, Dr. Oscar G. *La madre y el ni o. Gu a para la madre mexicana. Por el . . . en colaboraci n con el Servicio de Educaci n de Higiene. Departamento de Salubridad P blica. Servicio de Educaci n de Higiene. Campa a contra la mortalidad infantil.* Imprenta del Departamento de Salubridad P blica. Pp. 96. 27.5 x 20 cm.
- Casa del escritor mexicano. *Proyecto de organizaci n para las bases org nicas.* Imp. Linotipogr fica. Pp. 16. 20.5 cm.
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Enciclopedia Ilustrada Mexicana.
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Colecci n Renovaci n, III.
- Castaf eda, Daniel. *Arcillas mexicanas. Poema y un canto a la Revoluci n.* Imprenta Mundial. Pp. 67, with a "sketch" and four notes by Juan Jos  Segura.
- Castaf o, Rosa de. *El rancho estrade o.* Ediciones Botas. Pp. 224.
Novel.
- Castillo Miranda, Wilfrido. *El Contador P blico frente a algunos de los problemas creados por los contratos colectivos de trabajo. Tesis que para obtener el t tulo de Contador P blico presenta el alumno Wilfrido Castillo Miranda. (s.p.i.).* Pp. 86. 22.5 x 15.6 cm.
Universidad Nacional de M xico. Escuela Nacional de Comercio.

Castillo Nájera, Francisco. Breves consideraciones sobre el español que se habla en México. Nueva York, Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos. Pp. 14. 19.3 x 13.3 cm.

— Una voz de México en el extranjero. Discursos y alocuciones del doctor Francisco Castillo Nájera. Pp. 136.

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.

Castillo Torre, José. La nueva diplomacia de América. Conferencia sustentada el 25 de septiembre de 1935, en la benemérita Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística. Imprenta Mundial. Pp. 42. 19.2 x 15 cm.

Castillo y Piña, José. Los oasis del camino. Imp. Efrén Rebollar. Pp. VII, 486, (2), retr. 19 x 12 cm.

Impressions of travel through some towns and hamlets of the Mexican Republic.

Ceniceros, Lic. José Angel. Código de Comercio vigente. Edición revisada y coordinada por el licenciado José Angel Cenicerós. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 695. 14.5 x 9.6 cm.

This volume contains the articles of the old code of commerce still in force, together with the various legal regulations which have been substituted for part of the above code.

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Cervantes, Ing. Enrique. Catedral metropolitana. Sillería del coro. Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público. Talleres de Impresión de Estampillas y Valores. Pp. 40 (29 of these are illustrations). 28.3 x 22.3 cm.

Under direction of the author, who took charge of the making and supplying of his own photographs and vignettes.

De luxe edition of 1,100 numbered copies.

Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco. Crónica de Nueva España. Escrita por el Dr. y Maestro Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, cronista de la ciudad de México. Vol. II—Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía. Pp. IV, 283 (2). 24.5 cm.

Manuscript 2011 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid in the letter of the middle of the sixteenth century.

Papers of New Spain, compiled by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso.

Chadourne, Marc. Anáhuac o El Indio sin Plumas. Traducción de Alfonso Teja Zabré. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 215.

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— See "El obraje embrión de la fábrica".

Cházaro, Gabriel. Prisma. Fantasía de colores. Prólogo de don Eduardo J. Correa. (s.p.i.). (n.d.). Pp. 20.

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- Código Penal para el Distrito y Territorios Federales. Revisado según los textos oficiales y con una exposición de motivos, del Lic. Alfonso Teja Zabre. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 168. 14.7 x 9.3 cm.
- Cook, Katherine M. La Casa del Pueblo. Un relato acerca de las escuelas nuevas de acción de México. (s.p.i.). Pp. 157. 23 x 16.5 cm.
Translated by Professor Rafael Ramírez.
- Coronado, Fernando C. Codificación de medios de comunicaciones y de transportes. Edición revisada de los textos oficiales por el Lic. . . . ex-Oficial Mayor de Comunicaciones. Ediciones Botas. Pp. 580. 14.5 x 9.5 cm.
- Corzo, Prof. Angel M. Cuestionario para fijar la cultura de las razas indígenas de México. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 48. 29 x 20 cm.
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- Daumas, Gral. E. Los caballos del Sahara. 6a. edición revisada y aumentada con comentarios por el Emir Abd-El-Kader. Versión española con notas por Carlos Rincón Gallardo. Carta prólogo del señor profesor don Miguel Salinas, de la Academia de la Lengua, etc. Librería y Papelería de Angel Pola, República de Cuba 99. Pp. 296. 17 x 11.5 cm.
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Designs by Carlos González.
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- Informe de labores de la Academia de la Lenguas Nahuatl correspondiente al primer ejercicio social (1934-1935), rendido por el presidente saliente, Lic. José Ignacio Dávila Garibi en la sesión del 11 de octubre de 1935, con motivo de la toma de posesión de la nueva Mesa Directiva. Imprenta Emilio Pardo e Hijos. Pp. 24. 23 x 17 cm.
- "La Muñequita". Composición en verso dedicada a Luz Cristina Dávila Garibi y González al entrar ésta en la edad quinceañera. Imprenta Emilio Pardo e Hijos. Pp. 24, illus. 23 x 17 cm.
Privately printed edition of 10 numbered copies.
- Observaciones acerca de la ortografía de algunos nombres geográficos de origen náhuatl. Estudio leído por su autor . . . en la Academia Nacional de Ciencias "Antonio Alzate" en la sesión del 3 de abril de 1933. Imprenta Emilio Pardo e Hijos. Pp. 32. 23 x 17 cm.
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Illustrations by Mariano Paredes.

Díaz, Pbro. Severo. Mis ensayos en la previsión del tiempo, 1895-1935. Guadalajara, Jal., Imp. Jaime. Pp. 30. 23 x 16.5 cm.

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Of this work 1,000 copies were printed on coated paper numbered from 1 to 1,000, and 100 copies on sepia plate cameo, numbered from 1 to 100.

This fascicle is due to Demetrio S. García and Francisco Gamoneda. The documents consist of "two contracts made between Juan Cromberger and Juan Pablos, and one between Cromberger and Gil". Paleographic version of the contract of José Gestoso Pérez.

Domingos, Riveiro. El evangelio en el Brasil. Resumen histórico. Imp. "El Faro". Pp. 16. 19.5 x 13.5 cm.

Translated by J. Mirabal Lausan.

Dromundo, Baltasar. Francisco Villa y la "Ade'ita". Victoria de Durango, Dgo. (s.p.i.). Pp. 46, 1 illus. 24 x 18 cm.

Echalaz, Dr. Ernesto. Breves consideraciones sobre el estado actual de la salubridad en la República Mexicana. Sugestiones para reformas básicas del sistema que nos rige. (s.p.i.). Pp. 34. 19.8 x 14.8 cm.

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Efimov, A., y N. Freiberg. La época de la Primera Internacional y la Comuna de París. Traducción de Pedro Zuloaga. Talleres Gráficos de la Nación. Pp. 88. 23 x 17 cm.

Translated by Pedro Zuloaga.

Publications of the Secretaría de Educación Pública, Biblioteca del Estudiante, Section of Ciencias Sociales, No. 1.

Eguara y Eguren, Juan José de. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Con una advertencia y notas por Ermilo Abreu Gómez. Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos. (s.p.i.). Pp. 22. 23.5 x 17.5 cm.

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El Gobierno de México ante los problemas sociales y económicos. El informe presidencial al H. Congreso de la Unión. (Respuesta del Presidente del Congreso). Imp. de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. Pp. 68. 22.7 x 16.5 cm.

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, No. 5.

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RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

Tacubaya, Mexico.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The brilliant Brazilian scholar, Gilberto Freyre, is the author of the first number of the series "Publicações de Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional", namely, *Mucambos do Nordeste: Algumas Notas sobre o typo de Casa popular mais primitivo do Nordeste do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Ministério da Educação e Saúde, [1937], pp. 34, plates, 5\$000). Illustrations are by Dimitri Ismailovitch and M. Bandeira Capa de Luiz Jardim. A foreword is supplied by Rodrigo M. F. de Andrade, director of the Serviço. This is an excellent study of the houses of the northeastern part of Brazil. The frontispiece is in colors.

Depois de Eça de Queiroz (São Paulo, Saraiva & Cia, 1938, pp. 82) by Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, discusses the following matters: As três grandes realizações portuguesas do século XIX; a liberdade política, a literatura e o império sul-africano; A reforma nacionalista e simbolista; O teatro; Repercussões de República: conformismo, inconformismo e historicismo; A literatura da Grande Guerra; Literatura feminina; O Romance; A crítica e o ensaio; Literatura colonial; Decadência da sátira e do exotismo; O futurismo; Repercussões do cesarismo: cultura dirigida, cultura rebelde e cultura de compreensão; Considerações. This book has been issued also in a French edition, with the title *Après Eça de Queiroz* (Lisbon, Institut Français au Portugal, 1938, pp. 37) being reprinted from *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, 1937, fasc. 2. Dr. Figueiredo is well known for his many contributions to literature and history.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published Ramón Infesta's *Máximo Gómez* (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX" A. Muñoz y Hno., 1937, pp. XII, [1], 252). The volume won an award in the extraordinary session of the Academia in celebration of the centenary of Máximo Gómez. The narrative is divided into five books, namely: "El Troquel: El Hambre"; "La Fragua: El Guerrero"; "El Crisol: El Patriota"; "La Epopeya: El Libertador"; and "La Apoteosis: El Heroe". The volume is well footnoted and has a num-

ber of interesting portraits, and several appendices, namely: Programa revolucionario de Máximo Gómez; Plan de Campaña en la Guerra Hispano Americana; Carta a McKinley, March 4, 1899. There is also a bibliography of 8 pages. This appears to be the best biography of Gómez that has yet appeared.

Vol. I of *Impresiones Andinas* by Francisco Curt Lange (Montevideo, Editorial Nueva América, 1938, pp. 155) is concerned with Argentina, El Antagonismo cultural Argentino; and Bolivia, Pueblo en desgracia. The first essay is dated "Tucumán, Salta, Jujuy, noviembre de 1935"; and the second "Cusco, diciembre 12 de 1935". Between the two essays are a number of illustrations. Both essays are thoughtful.

From Manila (University of Santo Tomás Press, 1938, pp. 220, 2 pesos) comes a book by Fray Honorio Muñoz, O. P., professor in San Juan de Letrán College, entitled *Vitoria and the Conquest of America*. The subtitle of the volume (now before the public for the second time, having first been published serially in *Unitas*) is "A Study on the first Reading on the Indians 'De Indis Prior' ". The book is a companion piece to the same author's *Vitoria and War*. The object of Fray Honorio's work is to uphold the claims made that Vitoria is the father of international law. He shows in rather intricate analysis that "Vitoria's decisions came to be the basic principles of the modern law of nations". The volume appears to have been written in Spanish and then translated into English and the proofreading is poor in several places. There is a bibliographical list with references to the pages of the text where the books cited are mentioned. The book will appeal to students of international law. Fray Honorio mentions the work of James Brown Scott with praise.

Rexford Newcomb's *Spanish Colonial Architecture in the United States* (New York City, J. J. Augustin, Publisher, [1937], pp. 39 and 130 plates, \$12.00) is an impressive and interesting work, and the author and publisher have spared no pains to make it authoritative. Dr. Newcomb is professor of the history of architecture and dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts in the University of Illinois. The short text is divided into eight sections; Historical Note—the Background—Social, political, economic, religious; The Spanish architectural tradition; Spanish-Colonial architecture in

Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, sections three to seven; Present-day Spanish-Colonial architecture in the United States. The material for Florida is extremely meager and is centered mainly on St. Augustine. The Old Mission near New Smyrna is not mentioned at all. In his text the author shows how each region has developed its own peculiar type of architecture to conform with the surroundings. The book is not of place on the shelf of the historian.

The Salamantine Lanterns: Their Origin and Development, by Carl Kenneth Hersey (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 238, \$7.50) is a most creditable publication from all points of view. Professor Hersey has made a thorough investigation of the four lanterns in existence, namely, that of the Cathedral of Zamora, that on the old Cathedral of Salamanca, that on the Colegiata of Toro, and that on the old Chapter House of the Cathedral of Plasencia. All date from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Not only is the volume an interesting archaeological study but is of immense importance to present-day architects and students of architecture, for as the author points out, the influence of the lantern on the cathedral of Salamanca can be seen in the central tower of Trinity Church, Boston. The work is charmingly written and calls attention to facts little known previously. The volume is well illustrated and has a good bibliography of the works referred to in the text.

In collaboration with Dr. Werner Bohnstedt and Dr. Carlos Merz, Dr. Richard Behrendt—all of the University of Panama—is compiling a handbook of Panama which is expected to come from the press in late autumn. This volume is to be the first of a new series on "Central America: Social and economic Life". The second volume will treat of Costa Rica. The volume on Panama is to be divided into three parts: 1. The population; economic condition; cultural condition; health; administration. 2. Production; commerce and transportation; credit and money. 3. Introduction and definition of the subject; the budget; state expenditures; state revenues; taxes—both direct and indirect; assessments; the tariff, its system, structure and application, and the public debt. The volume will close with a bibliography and an index. The three men above named are directors of the Institute for Social and Economic Research, which is sponsored by the National University of Panama.

Dr. Richard F. Behrendt, of the University of Panama, among other courses proposed by him, develops one on the "Social and Economic Problems of Latin America of Today" and another on "Social Life and Civilization in Central America". In the first, he proposes to discuss Bases of Social Life in Latin America; Modern Economic Development of Latin America; and Political Tendencies in Latin America of Today. The second will consider briefly the history of Central America, its relations with the United States, a survey of its social structure, public health, and its growing economic importance. Special importance will attach to the problems and prospects of agriculture, international trade, and public finance. The course will also touch upon nationalist, fascist, and socialistic tendencies of foreign influence.

Señor Manuel Toussaint has published with an introduction as Supplement to No. 2 of *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* (Mexico, 1938, pp. 38) various documents in the series "Documentos para la Historia del Arte en México". The pamphlet is entitled *Proceso y Denuncias contra Simón Pereyñs en la Inquisición de México*. These documents include: Proceso de Oficio contra de Simón Perenis, por ciertas Palabras que dijo contra la Fe; Denuncia de Luis de Segura; Denuncia de Francisco de Zumaya; and Denuncia de Catalina de Sandoval.

The legation of Portugal at Washington has distributed a number of interesting propaganda publications. Among these are the following, all of which are of excellent appearance:

O Estado Novo. Princípios de Realizações.

O Imperio. By Henrique Galvão.

O Momento politico (Lisbon, 1934).

Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic.

Portugal, l'Alliance Anglaise et la Guerre d'Espagne—also edited in Portuguese. The Portuguese in modern Colonization, a pamphlet on Portuguese financial reconstruction. An address by Dr. Armindo Monteiro.

Professor Oliveira Salazar's Record, by Tomaz Wylie Fernandez.

The ten Commandments of the Portuguese new State.

Bulletin of Political, Economic, and Cultural Information. Issued by the secretariat of national propaganda at first quarterly and now monthly (beginning January, 1938). This is published in English as are most of the other materials.

Also several pamphlets for the tourist.

The presidential address of Professor Herbert E. Bolton, delivered before the American Historical Society at Toronto in 1932, has been published in Spanish translation as Publication No. 30, by the Instituto Pan-Americano de Geografía e Historia, in Mexico (1937, pp. 48). The translation was made by Carmen Alessio Robles.

Colonel Lawrence Martin, Chief of the Map Division of the Library of Congress, has written an excellent pamphlet entitled *Disturnell's Map* (Washington, G. P. O., 1937). This study will prove of value to writers and students of diplomatic history. Colonel Martin's interest in Disturnell's map is not recent, for he has long been gathering data concerning it.

No. 3 of the Fourth Series of "Cuadernos de Cultura" is *Ideario autonomista*, by Rafael Montoro (Havana, Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, 1938, pp. 159). No. 4 of the same series is *Apuntes de un Viage*, by José Martí (Havana, 1938, pp. 94).

Editorial Minerva, S. A., calle 18, No. 5-34, Bogotá, Colombia, has issued a volume of 346 pages, entitled *Qué es y qué piezas componen la "Selección Samper Ortega de Literatura Colombiana"*. Daniel Samper Ortega made this selection of one hundred Colombian authors showing the culture of Colombia, "not for the use of scholars, . . . but for the diffusion in foreign countries and among students of literature of the most salient works of our best writers". The selections comprise works of prose literature, stories and novels, customs, history and legends, sciences and education, essays, periodicals, oratory, poetry, and drama.

President Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, of the Dominican Republic, has issued a small pamphlet entitled *President Trujillo Molina declines to be a candidate for Re-election. Important Message to the Dominican People* (Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, January 8, 1938, pp. 15).

Conference Series, No. 28, of the Department of State is the Proceedings of the Second General Assembly of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, which was held at Washington, October 14-19, 1935 (Washington, G. P. O., 1937, pp. XI, 540, 60

cents). Much of the report is printed both in Spanish and English. The papers read at the meeting and the remarks made are published almost in their entirety. The papers touched many phases of history and geography and some sociology. Scholars from both American continents participated in the meeting by formal papers and in discussion.

In the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (XLVII, New Series, Part 1, pp. 15-92, is published an item by Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, entitled "The Renewal Memoranda of 1782 on Western Boundaries and some Comments on the French Historian Duniol". Professor Bemis read this paper before a meeting of the Society; but in the published item, he gives the memoranda in full. Students of Hispanic American history will find this useful.

Professor Richard Pattee's *Gabriel García Moreno e a sua Contribuição científica no Equador* has been reprinted from *Boletín da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Nos. 11 and 12, November and December, 1937. Professor Pattee has long been interested in García Moreno.

Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society (Vol. III, July, 1938, No. 4) is *The Beginnings of University Life in America*, by Carlos E. Castañeda. This paper was read at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 30, 1937.

The twenty-second regular meeting of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Association was held at Laredo, Texas, May 9, 1938. The Minutes published by the Commission give full details of the meeting.

Reginald C. Reindorp's translation, "The Founding of Missions at La Junta de los Ríos", first published in *Mid-America*, XX, No. 2, has been reprinted as Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1938, of "Supplementary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society". The original document by Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis is in the Archivo de San Francisco el Grande and was discovered by Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico. Trasviña accompanied the

Franciscan missionaries Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García to the new missions and the expedition made by him in so doing has not been used by previous historians.

Sister Blanche Marie McEniry presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the doctorate in the Catholic University of America at Washington a thesis entitled *American Catholics in the War with Mexico* (Washington, 1937, pp. xi, 178). The study is divided into seven chapters together with a conclusion and six appendices. A bibliographical list occupies pp. 165-174.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published an interesting address by Dr. Diego González y Gutiérrez, given before the Academy on January 27, 1938, entitled *La Enseñanza Primaria en Cuba Republicano* (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX" A. Muñiz y Hno., 1938, pp. 55).

The University of Puerto Rico Bulletin for December, 1937 (series VIII, No. 2) edited by Muna Lee de Muñoz Marín, is devoted to "Art in Review: Reprints of material dealing with Art Exhibitions directed by Walt Dehner and Acquisitions in the University of Puerto Rico, 1928-1938". The number is of interest.

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